General Discussion on the Budget.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Sir, permit me to sound a personal note before I proceed to lead the General Discussion of the Budget of 1107. May I, Sir, thank you and the Government of Cochin, for appointing me as the Deputy President of the Council, in accordance with the wishes of this House? The way we are led to Responsible Government by His Highness our Beloved Maharaja is indeed gratifying and the opening of this place of Honour inside the House to its own vote is the outstanding event in the beginning of the life of this the Third Council in our State. Our State has thus advanced in Constitutional History ahead of the other sister States in South India, and Cochin now has the privileged position of leading the other States in the onward march of the Government of the people, by the people, for the people. In having brought us to such an enviable position, may we also thank you for the part you have played in responding to the expressed wishes of the last two Councils by the Progressive Party which I had the proud privilege to lead hitherto? May I also express may thanks to the Members of the Party and to the new Members sitting in this Council for the confidence they have reposed in me and for the proud privilege bestowed on me, which has made me the First non-official in an Indian State that has come to the office of Deputy President by the popular will?

I shall now pass on to review rapidly the salient features of our achievement in the past six years and take stock, so that we may shape our policy and aim in the immediate future. When we first came into this Council, every Member was an isolated unit and concerted action was conspicuous by its absence and the Government with the aid of its compact block carried every thing inside the House. The group-spirit and team-work were not there till the Kuriarkutty incident—an example of an uncontrolled high-handedness on the part of a Head of a Department most strongly resented by a section in the House—arose inside the House and solidified that section into a compact working body and this became the nucleus of the Progressive Party with definite objects. The Party's principle aims are the attainment of Responsible Government in the State, the establishment of harmonious relations between different communities, the uplift of all sections and the securing of equal opportunities to all classes of His Highness' subject in politics publics services, and amenities of life. We aimed in short for all-round harmony, satisfaction, contentment and prosperity. Since the formation of the Party, the non-official element inside this Council began to make tself felt, and it is a matter for gratification that the hard labours

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of several Members in the past two Councils have brought on record in the Proceedings of the Council the state of affairs in almost all the Departments of State for the benefit of the students of Cochin Politics. The Council, working under numerous limitations imposed on it, nevertheless has made the Departments alert and careful, and through the working of the Standing Finance Committees of the past exercised a salutary check in the course of expenditure of public money and by repeated efforts have almost totally obviated the necessity for deviation of funds. The scrutiny of affairs that was brought to bear upon the Departments have raised the standard of the public services; and throughout the State the activities of the Council were perceptibly recognised. The Council thus came to be looked up to by the public at large, and Members were ready to give their ears to the complaints and needs of the people of Cochin. All official short-comings and lapses were thoroughly examined and we pressed demand after demand to march forward and onward to our goal and exercised the powers conferred on the Council in full to justify our existence. The needs of the villages of Cochin were also not forgotten and the Second Council in the last year of its existence succeeded in getting a Rural Reconstruction Committee to labour for the benefit of the ryot who form the backbone of the administration. Such in short is the history of the working of the House, in the various fields of activities in the State. The Council was, also out for Administrative Reforms and laid down a programme for the realisation of a ministerial form of Government to ensure continuity of policy and for effective and beneficial administrative activities for promoting the welfare and prosperity of the people, and it now looms large in the political horizon of the Indian States' people. The idea of a Federation of Provinces and States forming an United States of India is abroad and the component parts necessarily must have the same kind of Government if these are to blend into an harmonious whole; and it was with a view to participate in the bigger life of the country and to be ready to join the partnership that we placed Responsible Government as the principle object of the Party, and have been working hard for its realisation. Our demands have been made specific and reiterated many times and we are glad to see the dawn of the day. The elective principle already infused into this House in the case of the Deputy Presidentship encourages me to hope for the realisation of a Ministry or an Executive, at least partly responsible to the legislature in the near future so that we may become the architects of our own destinies.

The Educational Department in the State, the promotion of the Harbour, the laying down of a new system of Railways to tap

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the hinterland, have and are bringing us into closer touch with wider outerworld; and to enlarge our political and economic outlook thus becomes the incumbent duty of the powers that be, and this can only be done by making us to be more intensely and closely associated with the inner working of the affairs in our State and its relation with the bigger world at large. A training ground is absolutely necessary and this can only become established in a Ministry or Executive responsible to this House.

I do not at this stage desire to enter into the details of the budget and content myself at present by appreciating the strenuous efforts made in times of exceptionally acute economic depression to balance the same. The heavy commitments already made for large works in the Development Department of the State and the limited resources at our command should never be lost sight of, and prudence demands us to exercise the greatest vigilence in all our schemes for the materal advancement of Cochin.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Sir, before I proceed to offer my general remarks on the revised budget for 1106 and the budget for the year 1107, let me take this opportunity to thank you and your Government for the very valuable privilege this Council has now obtained in the matter of the nomination of the Deputy President? Compared with the Legislative Councils of other Indian States, our Council is only an 'Infant Council', being only six years old. Councils of other Indian States which have long ago attained their majority have not yet been bestowed with this privilege which His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to confer upon our Council. We must really feel proud that our work in the Council is being well appreciated by you. It must have been the result of this appreciation that induced you, Sir, to advise His Highness to grant us this privilege. Cochin, small in size as she may be, has set a very valuable example to other Indian States to follow, by her taking this bold step with regard to constitutional reforms. We are sure, Sir, that this is only the beginning of a series of other important constitutional reforms, such as the right of putting supplementary questions by all Members of this Council, the appointment of a non-official President to the Council, the introduction of a really responsible form of Government—I mention only some—which we hope you will advise His Highness to grant us ere long. It is our earnest hope that before you lay down the reins of administration, you will see your way to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Cochin in this direction. May we hope that we shall not have to pass through the further

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term of ten years prescribed by your predecessor, before we can realise our legitimate aspirations.

Now I proceed to the Budget. The revised budget of 1106 has resulted in a deficit. There is nothing to be surprised in this. The only consolation—if it be a consolation at all—is that the deficit is only about two lakhs of rupees. The very severe financial depression through which the whole world is passing has affected our State also. Her industry and trade have suffered much. The price of every indigenous product has fallen beyond all expectations. Curiously enough, we are starving in the midst of plenty. The economic distress is noticeable in the appreciable fall in the revenues under almost every head, Stamps, Registration, Forests, Tobacco, Excise, all these show a definite fall. The recent revision of pay of officers has accounted for additional expenditure. This has to some extent added to our difficulty. Our only hope at present is that the customs revenue may in all probability save us from this predicament. May that hope turn out to be true?

The Budget of 1107 has been so prepared as to leave a small balance at the end of the year. To me it seems this anticipated nominal surplus is only apparent and cannot be real. The expenditure on Railway has been shown only as seven lakhs. The expenditure on this account in the revised estimate of 1106 has been put down as seven lakhs and seventy-five thousand, which itself is said 'to be a reduced figure, as no capital works are proposed for the year in question'. There are no reasons to suppose that the expenditure on Railways will be reduced to any further extent in the year 1107. Whatever that may be, the experience of 1106 does not warrant us to the conclusion that at the end of 1107 we shall not be stared in the face with another deficit, probably of a greater magnitude than the one which we may have to face this year. It can only be prudence on our part to anticipate the probable fall in revenue under several heads. Our anticipations, as marked out in the budget, may, at the close of the year, betray us. As rightly pointed out by the Finance Member, 'our estimates are anticipations pure and simple, based on past experience as far as human calculations can go and Government cannot be said to be immune from errors.' Statesmanship, therefore, requires us to so regulate our expenditure that when the year under consideration closes we may not have occasion to give room for any complaint that our calculations were wrong. The prevailing world-wide economic depression is manifesting a tendency to stay and if it were to continue for some time more, as it in all probability would—God forbid such a contingency—it is sure to

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adversely affect all our general sources of income to a very appreciable extent. The temperance and prohibition movement that has gained a strong footing in British India and Indian States may still further affect our Excise revenue. Our Customs revenue, which probably has been the mainstay of our support till now, may also suffer a considerable reduction if the total receipts under Customs have hereafter to be shared with Travancore. The general increase in the Customs revenue on account of the development of the Harbour may not appreciably benefit our State owing to the presence of an additional partner to share the profit thereof. We may not be able to fall back upon our accumulated surplus when a financial crisis threatens us in the face, as this surplus will be wiped out by the heavy financial requirements of the Railway conversion scheme and other new schemes to which we have already committed ourselves. No doubt, these productive works may prove an additional source of revenue, but until they are fully developed, their effects will not be appreciable. The proposed loan of 75 lakhs, if it fructifies, will entail an additional expenditure of four lakhs and a-half every year by way of interest calculated at 6 per cent per annum. We shall also have to create a sinking fund in order that we may pay off the loan. A substantial portion of our revenues will have to be 'earmarked' every year to meet these liabilities.

Are there then other new sources of revenue which we can explore with profit at present? To me it seems the answer must unreasonably be in the negative. The question of levying an income-tax proposed by the Special Finance Committee in its report cannot be thought of at present, when all business is practically at a stand-still. Our ever-increasing expenditure presents a very gloomy outlook. What then, shall be our salvation? A very prudent and careful handling of our revenues alone may give us some relief. The expenditure has as far as possible to be reduced, consistent with efficiency. Retrenchment is our only remedy at present. Retrenchment is the cry everywhere. In British India, we all know, Provincial and Imperial Committees have been constituted with a view to tackle this serious problem. No doubt, we shall be forced to put off several items of work under Public Works Department, e. g., roads, bridges, canals and other works of general utility, however urgent and important they be, shall have to wait to the great distress and inconvenience of the general tax-payer. It is, however, no small gratification to note that in spite of the severe financial strain Government have been able to allot substantial amounts this year for new works to be undertaken by the Public Works Department. I may be permitted to point out at once that there are many urgent and important works to be taken up

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and carried out by this department. The 'Muriyad-Kakkathuruthi' Canal in the Mukundapuram Taluk and the 'Chittur-Vaduthala' Bridge in the Cochin-Kanayannur Taluk are only two such instances in point. These probably have to wait for want of funds. But it must be the imperative duty of the Government not to starve the Public Works. Savings must be made in establishment charges at least as a temporary measure so that such savings may be conveniently utilised for public utility services such as Public Works, Irrigation and the like. To cut the expenditure on all useful services, leaving the increased expenditure on establishment untouched would be doing a great injustice to the general tax- payer. I would make an earnest appeal to the officers of the State, especially the high-paid officers, to make a small sacrifice in the matter of their allowance and if need be, in their pay even. The officers concerned must of their own accord come forward, without any the slightest pressure from outside, to lighten the burden of the tax-payer and thereby increase his general comfort. It is for them to take the initiative in this matter and let us hope they will gladly respond. Under the present constitution of the Council the Members are absolutely powerless to move any reduction in the allowances and pay of the majority of the officers concerned. In a matter like this, I can only make an appeal to their sense of justice.

There are a few other points to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government before I close this discussion. I refer first to the Harbour and the Railways. It must be the endeavour of our Government to get every possible advantage that we can legitimately achieve from these two undertakings. No doubt, we shall get a share of the Customs revenue or the Port dues. We shall also get a fair percentage on the capital outlay in the Railway. But that is not enough. Both in the Harbour and the Railway, Cochinites must find some scope for employment. I am not referring to the employment as coolies. A large majority of them are probably Cochinites. I refer to the salaried officers. The Government must exert its best to secure a fair percentage of appointments to Cochinites in these two departments. This may go some way towards relief of unemployment in the State.

Another subject to which I would invite the serious attention of the Government is the necessity of getting at least a few seats reserved in the Medical, Engineering and Veterinary Colleges at Madras for students from Cochin. We have made a gift of a lakh of rupees and a recurring grant of rupees six thousand to the Benares Hindu University. I believe this was done on the understanding that a certain number of seats in

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that University would be reserved for Cochin students. We have to see that similar provisions are made in the Medical, Engineering and Veterinary Colleges and other scientific institutions outside the State. Cochin students are experiencing very great difficulty in securing admission to these Colleges. This is a subject to which I have had occasion to refer on the floor of this House on a previous occasion also. The importance of the subject is my only excuse for referring to it again.

The supervision of the Ayurvedic Institutions in the State is another matter to which I should like to touch upon. There are a few aided Ayurvedic Dispensaries in the State under the control of the Panchayat Department. These dispensaries are certainly becoming more and more popular. Their number has to be gradually increased. It is necessary that a competent Ayurvedic Physician with a knowledge of the western system of medicine, if available, should be entrusted with the supervision of these institutions. It will be of no use to entrust their supervision to the Panchayat Registrar or to the Medical Department of the State.

The Educational expenditure of the State is the next topic on which I wish to speak a few words. No doubt, as pointed out by the Finance Member we are spending about 18% of our revenues on Education and we may justly be proud of this feature. But it seems to me that without affecting efficiency, there is much scope for reduction of expenditure under this head. There is considerable scope for effecting savings in the matter of awarding grants to aided institutions. There is a general feeling in the country that there is scope for the reduction of a large number of Primary schools. The grant of nearly fourteen annas in every rupee spent is certainly more than what is being paid either in Travancore or in the Madras Presidency. There is real scope for retrenchment in this Department especially on the lines indicated above. It is for the Government to seriously consider if they should not take over primary education into its hands without entrusting the same to private agencies. No doubt, we shall be eagerly waiting for the results of the Educational Survey that is going on now. Whatever its results, I feel almost certain that if Government can take over the control of Primary Education into its hands, the amount that is now being spent on this head may be considerably reduced without at the same time starving the needs of this Department. This is worth considering, especially at this period when we have to explore all avenues possible with a view to retrenchment. Let me close these remarks with the sincerg hope that the present financial unstability is only a passine phase and that normal conditions would be restored ere long.

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Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in congratulating the Government on its being able to present to us a surplus budget after satisfying, even though in certain cases very meagrely, every item of Demand. We cannot expect better in these days of dire depression.

General.—Let me refer to a recent action of the Government. Treating with scant courtesy the considered opinions of the Finance Committee, a committee composed of the veterans, both official and non-official, without assigning any reason therefor, regarding the pay of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer and the restoration of the posts of 20 servants in the Agricultural Department, do not come with good grace on the part of the Government. Everywhere outside the State they are on retrenchment. This State was notorious for its being top-heavy. Our Government are making it heavier. In these days of distress and unemployment the paramount duty of the Government is to take steps for the removal of them. The Government seems to be sleeping over the matter. The Cochin Government can very easily overcome the unemployment problem with some imagination and a venturesome spirit. There is its Railway and there is the Harbour. The Demand for the Railway is seven lakhs of rupees and the net income then will be only six lakhs. So the Cochin subjects enjoy barely a half of the profit. The present condition of the carriages is very unsatisfactory. They are leaky and ill-lighted. The old unserviceable carriages of the Company are shunted on to this line. (*Hear, hear*). The mode of lighting now prevailing can be abandoned and the money expended on it saved. If the Government with some venture make up its mind to run the concern departmentally, it can give employment to a good number of the present unemployed and can save itself from becoming the laughing stock of the travelling public. Then the other productive work is the Harbour. There have been panick in the country at the proposal of the Harbour which was allayed by Diwan Mr. Narayana Menon, explaining to the public that Cochin would share a third of the net income from the Harbour, over and above what it was getting without the Harbour. Now it is said that Cochin was to share a bare third and it was to have no hand in the management. Its people are not to share in the loaves and fishes of office of the Harbour by right. It has no idea of taking into its confidence the public to allay their anxiety. You, Sir, might have been undergoing the trouble of being pestered by the subjects of His Highness, both male and female, for appointments and you do not consider the assumption of authority over these two concerns necessary for a relief from this ever augmenting trouble! You are purchasing stamps

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from outside. We were making our stamps before with great profit to ourselves. If the manufacture is done locally that will find employment for a good many. Then the unemployment problem can to a great extent be solved.

Land Revenue.—The increased estimate of receipts for 1107 under capital is illusory. Even though the budget estimate for the year was Rs. 30,000, only 15,000 was realised according to the revised budget. How can it be expected to have an increase sale on these days of all round depression? With the high price fixed for the forest exclusions and with the abnormal and inequitable rate of tax the people will think twice before they go in for these lands. The Government have not yet disposed off the resolution passed in this Council requesting the Government to impose on the newly assigned lands the rate in which the adjacent settled lands are now taxed. The people went for the forest exclusion in the Chittur Taluk because of the ground-nut boom. Now there is a slump in the market. Hence how is it possible to expect the people to go in for lands in Chittur? Further, Sir, is it safe to depend upon this income for long? The forest exclusions will be sold out within a couple of years at this rate. The Government have not considered the ways and means to increase the income under Land Revenue. It is not possible to raise the rate of the impost. It is even now very high. The only other course is by providing facilities to utilise the undeveloped resources for better and more extensive cultivation. In my constituency the only project is the opening of a Chal to the northern side of the Chittur river at the Moolathura anicut. By this many acres of lands can be brought under cultivation. The money spent upon this project will be well spent, conferring benefit both on the ryots and the Government. We have the scheme well prepared by the Special Engineer appointed for the purpose. If a beginning is made now the poorer tenants who had to change the plough for the spade owing to depression will find work. They have been doing the silt clearance work hitherto. That work is over and they are let at large. It is the bounden duty of the Government to start relief work under such situations. Here they have a work at hand which will bring manifold benefits to those parts. No provision has been made to assist the poor tenants. Owing to the fall of price in food grains, paddy and especially ground-nut, the tenants have not been able to pay the whole rent to the landlords and the moiety they paid was by selling all they had without reserving even the seeds. The Government is always espousing the cause of the tenants. Mere words would not do. Acres of land are lying fallow. The peasantry have not the wherewithal to cultivate

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them. This is the time to help them with seeds, manure, etc. If they do nothing now they will have occasion to do nothing at any other time.

Agriculture.—Ever since the institution of this Council we have been pressing the Government to relieve the Superintendent of Agriculture of the Panchayat work. And you, Sir, have been pleased to do it this year. We wished to have the Superintendent to make a frontal attack on the incessantly creeping Demon poverty by intensive and improved methods of agriculture. The Government must supply him with the sinews of war. What has the Government done? We were asking for demonstration farms, seed and manure stores and stud bulls in every taluk. The Government have budgetted for two taluks only and that a lump sum of Rs. 1,500 for demonstration work in private lands. If this amount is to be spread over the taluks it will be a mere waste. It is insufficient. If the demonstration farms are not opened in all the taluks the Superintendent will not find his hands full. It is not sufficient if a demonstration farm like the cocoanut garden is undertaken. The receipts shown for 1106 and 1107 from the garden are Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 2,200 and the expenditure, Rs. 4,087 and Rs. 4,464 respectively. Is this a profitable concern? Is this a concern that will appeal to the public in general? Since the establishment of the garden we were investing on it Rs. 2,000 per annum over and above its cost price and the returns when considered with the out-lay are very very poor. We want the Superintendent to be matter of fact, to show the agriculturists that if he spends so much he gets so much more, which should be an increase on his present annual income and the extra sum expended on it. If not his work will not be appreciated.

Forest and Tramway.—Sir, by trying to study the budget under Tramway with that under Forests, I find myself in a maze of wilderness. The cost of timber removed by Sirkar agency and by consumers and purchasers by tram for 1106 and 1107 is Rs. 2,91,090 and Rs. 3,26,575 respectively. The expenditure for the Tram for the transport of this timber is Rs. 1,29,940 and Rs. 1,40,120 respectively. Thus only timber worth Rs. 1,61,150 and Rs. 1,86,455 in 1106 and 1107 respectively, is the net income from forests. And we have to spend Rs. 1,35,300 and Rs. 1,42,500 for the upkeep of the Tram and Rs. 4,01,700 and Rs. 2,91,600 for the Forest establishments. Thus the incomes from Forests and Tramway in 1107 and 1106 are Rs. 4,66,695 and Rs. 4,21,030 and the expenses are Rs. 4,34,100 and Rs. 5,37,000 respectively. This year the account is minus and the coming year plus 30 and odd. From this it will be seen that the concern is kept going on by the

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transport of timber by other means and by some miscellaneous income. If we take into consideration the receipts and disbursements of this year and of the next together we will find that there is a net profit of Rs. 2,89,600 for which a great quantity of valuable timber of more value than this amount have to be cut and removed. This devastates the forest. Further this year and the next year together there will be removed by other means alone, other than the tram Rs. 2,91,480 worth of timber. Thus we find that it will in the long run be a gain to the Sirkar if the timber were removed by other means alone and be done with that white elephant, the Tram.

A word about the traffic in arrack by the Government. The policy of the Government they have said is towards prohibition. They have the sole monopoly of arrack in the State. They can very well give it up without injuring others. There is no fear of the people going a long way to have a sip of arrack. They will be satisfied with the toddy made easily, procurable at their very door. Do the Government think that a sum of about three lakhs of rupees is more valuable to them, to their master, than the health and virility of thousands of His Highness' beloved subjects, that they should persist in this trade? (*Hear, hear*). How many families have been ruined, how many lives have been lost by this nefarious trade? Are they true to their salt, are they loyal to their employer in thus enticing away His Highness' credulous public to ruin? Will it not be to their everlasting credit if they forego this income and show to the world the concern the Administration has for the well-being of the administered, by abolishing the distillery and prohibiting the sale of arrack in the State?

Sir, I had sent a resolution to make the post of the Deputy President honorary. It was disallowed by the President. It was not to question the power of appointment of His Highness, it was simply to inform the Government the opinion of the House. It was simply to see how much scrambling will there be for this post out of true patriotism for the country, out of true love of the people. But I am sorry I have been defeated in my endeavour. Sir, the talk every where now is of constitutional changes in the Government of India. It is supposed to include the States as well. The change proposed is for a federal India. What is Cochin State in the federal continent of India but a dot, nay a geometrical point? What are the steps the Government of Cochin is taking towards its safety towards becoming an integral though a minor part of the federation? The Public of Cochin is ignorant of that. We have heard that Cochin also had spent some

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money towards its being represented in the Round Table Conference. How and in what capacity have they kept it confidential. Yesterday they have said that no money had been spent. So far so good. Sir, it is not right statesmanship to think that everything well for the State can be done by the Head of the Government alone. The Government are not willing to associate the people with them. They do not make the people responsible for what is taking place. They cannot expect to draw themselves out from their position of being a point in this vast continent, without taking the people with them, without their being strengthened by the collected opinion of the subjects of His Highness. If you associate them with you, if you take them into your confidence, if you make them also responsible for what you do, then alone you can show an appreciable front, the recognisance of which, by the powers that be, would be irresistible. May the Almighty give you strength to do this.

Sir, I request you to kindly convey to His Highness our beloved Maharaja the loving and loyal felicitations of my constituency and of myself.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Mr. President, Sir, this is the first Budget of the new Diwan of Cochin. Diwan Bahadur T. S. Narayana Ayyar the predecessor in office of the Diwan has observed in his concluding remarks as President of this Council during the last Budget Session that the "politics of Cochin is to a large extent centred in the question of conferment of appointments of particular individuals". This statement coming from an officer of the knowledge and experience as the late Diwan, is true if the remarks are confined only to the educated section of the public. The wider public have more vital problems affecting the well-being and happiness of the people of the land. I propose to offer a few remarks on both aspects of the question so that if the new Diwan thinks there is anything useful in my observations, he may be profited to avoid unpleasant situation in the future. I have the advantage that, not being a recipient of any degree from any University, I am no aspirant for the spoils and I can speak with considerable freedom in this matter. It was also said by Diwan Bahadur Narayana Ayyar, "that in the first year of the administration every Diwan is praised. Then criticisms begin and finally it is all abuse". This state of affairs might be due to the good nature of the people of Cochin in that in the first year they keep an open mind to give an opportunity to the new comer, slowly they begin to judge on solid facts and finally their conclusions are proved. In order that the present Diwan may not fall into this lamentable predicament it is my duty to give expression to what I feel with regard to the politics of the educated

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people which is largely centred in appointment and the politics of the people of the land which is centred largely on the constructive and nation building schemes for the advancement and the prosperity of the people of the land.

The educated section wants a distribution of appointments on a basis dependent on the educated number of each community of the population. Not only that, but a section of the same wants the proportion to be fixed on the number of population of each community without any reference to the educated number in each. These officers recruited on these communal lines become servants of communities and cease to be servants of the public, and a tendency arises to cut up services into politics and into proportions and to set up classes against one another. The importance of a community is judged by its agitation for places and those who clamour most are given most, and appointments are given to the community that can show the best agitation, united in voice and threatening in character. Sometimes communities combine to thwart other communities, unwholly combinations of educated men belonging to different communities, unknown to the unsuspecting minds, have been made and representations are made to suit such combinations. To a stranger coming to Cochin these forces working behind are not visible and things are taken as they are placed before him without testing the accuracy and the veracity of the sources. (*Hear, hear*). To be plain, in the language used once before in this House in the previous regime, Cochin politics was a sort of limited company whose Managing Director and the other Directors used their position for the advancement of their families and favoured individuals. The Nayar, the Brahmin and the Christian had each his share of profits then. But the distribution was not on a communal basis. In the new Diwan of high character and of good intentions the Managing Directorship is safe, and the other Directors are only canvassing elections. Advocacy of communal claims has become the order of the day and *Manu* is prepared to be swallowed on communal basis. The theory of the equal eligibility of citizens to public offices is violated and the unseemly scramble of the communities for berths disfigures the political atmosphere. The Government must take care that no subject of His Highness the Maharaja shall by reason of religion or colour be disabled from holding any office under the Government (*Hear, hear*) and officers should be recruited on the strength of character and ability of the applicants. The public of Cochin are not concerned in the communities of the officers but are interested only on the ability, integrity, honesty and character of the servants of the State. (*Hear, hear*).

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Coming to the real politics which affect the welfare of the people I have to say a few words. This being the seventh time I take part in the general discussion of the budget it is impossible to escape repetition of what I have said on previous occasions, and should I or should I not repeat the various important points that I have urged in most of my previous budget speeches is the question. Perhaps as Dean Swift would put it much can be said on both sides. After all repetition may prove another cry in the wilderness. But the other side a young European I. C. S. Officers absolutely unbiased and very well-intentioned is now holding the reins of administration and it is quite possible that if matters are duly brought to his notice he will give due consideration to them.

Last year the Government was congratulated on their having placed before the House a surplus budget. But from the revised estimate for 1106 I find the congratulations were misplaced and we have now to withdraw them. This year, therefore, I have to warn the Members of this House to be very careful in the matter of congratulating the Government for an apparently surplus budget which they have placed before this House. If an anticipated surplus of about half a lakh can be converted into a deficit of nearly 5 lakhs in 1106, there is no reason why the same anticipated surplus of about half a lakh for 1107 should not share the same fate. Far from congratulating the Government, to my mind it is a condemnation that is required for their not having made a free use of the axe as the sister States and British provinces have done as a safeguard against the havoc that is being done and that is likely to be done by the present world-wide economic depression, the severest of its kind ever since Adam and Eve lived. Travancore has shown a retrenchment of 17 lakhs without touching any of the nation-building departments. This House is incompetent to suggest substantial retrenchments as that would amount to asking a free use of the axe on most of the untouchable items. I have only, therefore, to express my pious wish that, even though the budget figures may be passed as they are without much change, Government will effect some substantial retrenchment in the year's expenditure.

As a Member of the Rural Reconstruction Committee I had occasion to visit a few villages in all the Taluks and to hear representation from various communities and I am in a position to assure you, Sir, that the conditions existing in many of the villages are really miserable. There are villages which are converted into islands by one good rain. Sanitation in some of the villages is practically unknown, medical aid is difficult to be got in many villages either on account of want of first class hospitals near by

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or want of access to good roads. A greater mistake cannot be committed than to attempt to appraise the real condition of Cochin by simply judging the conditions of her very small number of towns. If, Sir, you really want to know the condition really prevailing in Cochin, you must go to the villages, and may I now take the liberty to ask how many villages the Diwan has visited after he took charge of the administration ten months ago? Perhaps the fault is not his as he should not be expected to be a trained walker, the villages not being accessible to cars, especially to the commodious State cars. (*Laughter*).

Village administration is sought to be improved by Panchayats. Dissatisfied with the log king a change was prayed for and the crane king was conferred on the villages. That appears to be the feeling of the villages at the appointment of the present Registrar of Panchayats. I mean no disparagement to Mr. Raphael, the present Registrar. But what I mean is an officer of a higher status slightly below the rank of the Diwan Peishkar as in Travancore and British, having good administrative experience, must be appointed as Registrar if any real good is to be done to the villages.

To keep pace with the ever-increasing expenditure there is only one way, and that is to increase the material prosperity of the country. Agriculture is the mainstay of the country and that has to be improved. A move in the right direction seems to have been made by the provision in the budget for demonstration of improved methods of cultivation in the ryots' lands. Let us wait and see how far this move will ultimately increase the yield of the lands in Cochin. I do not know if statistics are available as to the total yield of paddy and other staple products in Cochin. It will be really interesting to know if the yield has substantially increased after the Government began spending sums to the tune of one and a half lakhs on the Agricultural Department. I am told that in advanced countries like America, Germany, &c., statistics relating to pigs and dogs are available. But as far as statistics are concerned Cochin appears to be at least 200 years behind the times.

Next to Agriculture comes Industry and Commerce. No real attempt seems to have been made by Government for improving the industry and commerce of the land. There are no doubt industrial schools throughout the length and breadth of the land and large sums of money are being spent on them. But have these industrial schools in any way contributed to the growth of industrial Cochin? Without hesitation I can say no, and I am sure the Director of Industrial Schools will not dare to contradict me. Nothing can be sadder than the attitude of the Government towards the Potteries and the Tan-

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neries. A whole-hearted and courageous attempt to make these institutions a success is well worth on the part of any Government. Many a share-holder of the Tanneries invested his hard-earned money simply because Government was supposed to be at its back and success used to be associated with everything in which Government was interested. It is deplorable that instead of making a strenuous attempt to revive the Tanneries, Government thought it fit to take legal steps against the company to recover their dues, not caring a straw for the shareholders' money. Perhaps nothing will be left except a few bricks and mortar and a few scraps of machinery when Government gets possession of the Tanneries, as a result of the legal steps they have taken. Potteries can certainly be made a grand success provided it is worked on proper lines. To continue it on the present lines will be perpetrating the old blunder which was responsible for its present state. A man of practical experience and possessing the necessary technical qualifications is really wanted to make the Industrial Department a really useful one. A first class Director of Industries will be no loss to the land but will be able to more than compensate for the decent salary he may have to be given. Industrial Cochin cannot develop unless the Industrial Department is well organised. The apathy of the Government is well demonstrated in their having abolished the special seat in this House for Commerce and Industries. It is however gratifying to note that the present Diwan is favourably inclined towards restoring the said seat. Let us wait and see what he does.

While it is very easy to condemn the present system of education, I know the difficulty of making constructive proposals. I may however say that in a State like Cochin the present expenditure on education is ample and should not be increased. The expenses on collegiate education may even be cut down and more money may be spent on primary education, making it free and compulsory gradually. With no separate University for Cochin and with first grade colleges scattered in and all round Cochin, Cochinites are not going to suffer in any way if expenses on collegiate education are cut down even by 25 per cent.

A word about the Public Works Department. In my school days I remember to have been asked to believe that the letters D. P. W. were intended to designate the Department of Public Waste. I now feel there is much truth in that. The country is not going to be poorer or a loser in any way by cutting down the expenditure on public buildings for increasing their number. In these hard times only the absolutely necessary amounts should be spent on buildings.

While I am not for cutting down the expenditure under Medical, I think the opening of more Ayurvedic Hospitals wil

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be a real boon to the public and at the same time will not cost anything as much as Allopathic Hospitals. The Government Ayurvedic Hospital at Pudukotta is, in the opinion of the authorities, doing as good and useful work as the Government Allopathic Hospitals. A first class Government Ayurvedic Hospital on the lines of the Pudukotta one is well worth attempting.

I think I have taken up my allotted time and I conclude my speech with the pious wish that the revised estimate for 1107 will also show a surplus, however small it may be and that the present administration of the State will contribute to an all-round prosperity.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—Sir, I am not inclined to congratulate the Finance Member for having presented a balanced budget, for the year 1107, rather a budget with a surplus of Rs. 52,300. At this time of unprecedented economic depression when some Governments are faced with big deficits and some others with bankruptcy, our Finance Member has framed our budget in such a way as to show a surplus. But when we dive deeper into the figures for next year and examine the details the surplus seems to vanish away. I fear whether the Finance Member is not too sanguine in his estimate of receipts under certain heads and too parsimonious of expenditure in certain nation-building departments. It is well and good to be hopeful, but it is not a good policy of sound finance to ignore the real situation. Sir, it will not be put to the discredit of the Government or of the Finance Member if at such a critical time as this we are not able to meet the demands with our ordinary receipts.

On looking into the figures of receipts for next year we find that under Stamps an excess of Rs. 34,000 is budgetted over the revised estimate of 1106. It is to be noted that from the year 1101, the receipts under Stamps have been going down every year. Though the budget estimate for 1105 was Rs. 6,65,000, the revised estimate was Rs. 6,52,600 while the actual of that year went down to Rs. 6,19,502, making a difference of Rs. 46,000. The budget estimate for 1106 was Rs. 6,55,600 while the revised estimate is put down as Rs. 6,14,500 giving a difference of Rs. 41,000, but I believe the actuals will be much less. In the face of these figures why has the Finance Member budgetted an increase in receipts? Under the head of Customs an excess of Rs. 1,50,000 is budgetted over the revised estimate of 1106. Again, under Tramway Rs.60,000 is budgetted for Traffic carried for public, while the revised estimate for 1106 is only Rs. 7,000 and the actual for 1105 is only Rs. 15,778. The Finance Member has not revealed to us why he expects such increase under these heads. I have very

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serious doubts whether the forecast of the Finance Member is going to be realised. For the year 1106 the Finance Member presented a budget which showed a surplus of Rs. 37,000. But at the end of the year we find the Finance Member bewailing that the revised estimates anticipates a deficit of Rs. 1,91,000. In his Memorandum Explaining the Budget the Finance Member says that the deficit is due to the severe economic depression through which the country is passing. Does the Finance Member expect this economic depression to pass off from the beginning of next year? What are the signs that he sees in the horizon? I fail to find any forecast in the speeches of the Finance Member?

Then coming to the side of expenditure we find the Finance Member trying to balance the budget so as to turn it into a surplus one. As admitted by the Finance Member the cry for retrenchment is in the air everywhere. The Finance Member too has caught the idea and tries to effect retrenchment, but unfortunately he has applied his axe in the wrong place. We find that in the department of Civil Engineering under the Head of Works "Communication" the budget estimate for 1107 shows a reduction of Rs. 1,32,000 from the revised estimate for 1106. Then under the Head of "Building" the budget estimate for 1107 has fallen short of the revised estimate for 1106 by Rs. 1,04,000, while compared with the budget estimate it comes to Rs. 1,75,000. Again under the Head of "Irrigation" the budget estimate for 1107 is about Rs. 38,000 less than the revised estimate for 1106. Thus on the whole under the Head of "Civil Engineering" we find the expenditure cut down by about Rs. 3,00,000 compared with the revised estimate for 1106. Then again under the Head of "Sanitation and Conservancy" the budget estimate for 1107 is less than the revised estimate of 1106 by Rs. 18,000. In his anxiety to produce a balanced budget the Hon'ble the Finance Member has starved the developing and nation-building departments. The policy of the Government ought to be to allot more money every year for works that go to improve the material prosperity and comfort of the people. Under the present economic distress works under the P. W. D., while affording some sort of relief to a variety of people, can also be carried on at cheaper rates. Have the Government reduced the expenditure under these items on the ground of want of funds. I do not think the Government believes they have no funds? When the Governments in British India and other places are pevising ways and means to reduce the salaries of highly daid officers our Government are increasing their pay.

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If there is any one class of people who have been benefited by the economic depression it is the persons who have a fixed salary. (*Hear, hear.*) Hence I cannot at this time appreciate the action of the Government in raising the pay of highly paid officers in the State. I would press on the attention of the Government the necessity of reducing by at least 10 per cent the pay of officers who are drawing more than Rs. 200 a month and by 15 per cent the pay of those who draw more than Rs. 400 a month. Of course, I do not advocate a permanent reduction in their pay. I would only advocate for this reduction for one year for the present.

I regret to note that though the Finance Member has realised that the country is passing under a great economic depression he has not thought it fit to give any relief to the class of persons who are most hardly hit. Owing to the abnormally low prices of the produce of the land, the poor agriculturists in the villages are left very little even to feed themselves after paying the taxes and the costs of cultivation. Sir, I would invite the Finance Member to witness the miserable condition of these peasants who have been reduced to the verge of starvation. The Agriculturists are the backbone of the country. You destroy them and you destroy all that is worth having in a land. The wealth of the country depends upon them. No enlightened Government can look on with equanimity the agriculturists going to rack and ruin. It is the prime duty of the State to give them some relief under the present distress. They have been crying to the Government to give them some relief from the crushing burdens of taxation. The Government seem to think that the time is not yet come for this step. I believe the remedy will be applied only when it is too late, when life is extinct. The price of the produce of the land when the tax was fixed was more or less the present rate, is no answer for not reducing the tax, because the conditions and standard of living at that time were far different from those prevailing at present. I ask the Government with all emphasis that I can command to give some sort of relief to these poor peasants by giving them a reduction in the taxes at least for the present.

Another way in which the Government ought to come to the help of these people is by making some law by which the liabilities of the subscribers in the Kuries may be relieved. This matter has been so well threshed out in this Council on previous occasion that I need not expatiate upon the difficulties experienced by the Kuri subscribers. I do not want the Government to pass a law stopping all Kuries. What I would suggest is that the Government may pass a law by which option may be given to the subscribers in any Kuri to stop it for a period, say a year,

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if a good majority of the subscribers agree to this course. Provisions may also be made to safeguard the interests of the non-prized subscribers. I understand that the Travancore Chitty Regulation contains a provision by which 75 per cent of the ticket holders in any Kuri may by a special resolution change any term in the Kuri, and the people taking advantage of this provision are either temporarily stopping the Kuries or reducing the instalments in a year.

I have been advocating a reduction of income by suggesting relief to the peasants and an increase in expenditure by suggesting allotment of larger amounts to the nation-building departments. I may suggest a method by which the income may be increased though it is no new suggestion. It is painfully surprising that our Government have not yet thought fit to introduce income-tax on non-agricultural incomes. Though agriculture gives very poor returns to the hard working peasants, yet they have to pay a high rate of assessment to the Government. The merchants and money-lenders who amass large amounts of wealth with comparatively less or no labour at all and who enjoy all the benefits of a sound and efficient administration, go scot-free in the matter of maintaning that administration. This iniquity in the method of taxation should not be allowed to continue. In British India and in most of the native States income-tax on non-agricultural incomes is being levied. And yet, enlightened Cochin allows this unfare distribution of taxation to continue. I would emphasise once more to reduce taxation on land and introduce income-tax on non-agricultural incomes.

Another point which I wish to raise is the unemployment problem of the educated young men in our State. Sir, by this time you will have realised the seriousness of this most pressing problem by the innumerable applications which you might have received for employment in the Government Service. Our Colleges and schools are turning out graduates and educated young men every year in large numbers. Owing to the absence of any other outlet, these young men flock to the door of the Government for employment. Until we modify the system of our education to suit the requirements of our country, their number is bound to swell. I would point out the Railway and the Harbour as the means by which some of these young men may be absorbed. I find that though the Railway is our own concern and we own a third of the interest in the Harbour our young men are scarcely appointed in these departments. I would strongly advocate the Government to insist upon the authorities concerned to recruit our young men in large numbers in these concerns.

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Now referring to the General Administration I have great pleasure to remark that with the advent of our new Diwan the tone of the Administration has undergone a remarkable change for the better. The Council has been given the privilege of suggesting the Deputy President. It is a great relief to note that the opinion of the people expressed in this Council is now given their due weight by the Government. Panchayats have been separated from Agriculture and entrusted to a capable officer. The old pensioned officers have been got rid of from the services and young blood have been infused. There is an awakening and a life in the Administration. Justice and fairplay have come to be recognised. In this connection I may say that it is on the rock of making appointments to the Government service that the Administrators in Cochin have got ship-wrecked. Sir, the Government service should not be considered as the monopoly of any class or community. (*Hear, hear*). All classes of His Highness' subjects should be given their due representation in the services. Persons who belong to those communities which have captured the fishes and loaves of office can easily make a joke of the attempts of other communities to get a few crumbs. Sir, I believe you will have realised by this time that there is a great volume of discontentment among the various communities who have been denied their rights in the services of the State. I would strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that till this inequality in the services is set right in making future appointments the members from the less represented communities should alone be appointed in accordance with their numerical strength, educational qualifications and status in the country, of course without impairing efficiency.

I do not wish in this general discussion to deal with the various departments in the State. But before I conclude I have to say a few words with regard to the deplorable condition of the High School at Narakkal. I wanted to move an Adjournment motion with regard to this matter, but I thought I would take advantage of this opportunity to bring the matter before the attention of the Government. From the re-opening of the school till now the working of the institution has been most unsatisfactory. Even before the re-opening of the school the Second Assistant was transferred from the School as Deputy Inspector. With the re-opening, the First Assistant also was transferred. Though one teacher was posted in the place of the First Assistant he was immediately after transferred again to some other place. Then again, the Headmaster of the School was transferred as the Inspector of Schools of the Northern Division. So that the school has been working till now without

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the Headmaster, First Assistant and the Second Assistant. Most of the existing teachers in the school are fresh L3 teachers i. e., of the grade of First Form. I understand that no time-table even has been prepared for the working of the institution. What more deplorable state of things can you imagine in the School? The students are left to wander about as they like. Even last year for the first few months the school was short of teachers. Perhaps Narakkal is not an attractive place for persons who are not men of the locality. If so, why not appoint men of the locality? Are there no competent teachers in the Department to be appointed in the High School, Narakkal? Has the Director of Education come to know of this state of affairs? If he knew about it, why has he slept in this fashion without setting matters right? I hope the Director will devote his immediate attention to this matter.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Mr. President, Sir, I have had the privilege of taking part in the deliberations of the Budget Sessions for the past six years, but this year's Budget Session has a peculiar attraction for me because this is the first of its kind after your assuming the reins of administration in Cochin. I don't say this as a mere conventional flattery as you will presently see from what follows.

In the Bhagavad Ghita, considered to be highly sacred by orthodox Hindus, Krishna tells Arjuna:—

യദാ യദാഹി ധർമ്മസ്യ
ഗ്ലാനിർ ഭവതി ഭാരത
അഭ്യുത്ഥാനമധർമ്മസ്യ
തദാത്മാനം സൃജാമ്യഹം

A free rendering of this verse into English will be, "whenever Dharma deteriorates and Adharma predominates, then and there I will take an incarnation to reinstate Dharma". Dharma has been interpreted by scholars to mean duty or virtue. This therefore means that virtue will be re-established by Providence, although vice may predominate for some time. The same view, perhaps in different language has been expressed by scientists as well. According to the necessity felt from time after time, all living beings undergo corresponding structural metamorphosis. I believe, in politics too they say a similar truism. Every nation will certainly get the Government it deserves, consistent with the natural demands and desires of the people concerned. We hear of several sovereign powers being completely crushed and even the members of the Royal Household being forced to flee for their very lives, because the popular demand or the natural necessity of those nations must have asserted itself as a more mightly force than the sovereign powers themselves. I shall not, however,

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traverse on those dangerous grounds where angels fear to tread, but shall confine my remarks to the politics of our little State. May I take this opportunity to say that your coming in at this juncture is some thing more than a mere accident ?

Boycott of British goods, non-co-operation with the British rule, violation of British Indian Laws and Boycott of Britishers;

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—No. No.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Why, no! .....and everything that is British seems to be the order or rather the fashion of the day. The coarsest Khadi worn in the crudest manner is the surest sign of the greatest respectability of the present day and perhaps more so for ladies. A visit into the Jail for a political offence is more valued than even the highest degree the University can bestow. Non-co-operation with College classes or with the study of English and becoming a Congress volunteer is applauded as the noblest act done by a young man. Even ladies of fashion and educational degrees have become infatuated with Congress prisoners with little or no educational attainment. In this topsy-turvy world our little Cochin has its share of this contagion from British parts and the educated high class communities in Cochin seem to be particularly attracted by the movement, and propaganda work is carried on by them at least in three or four of our largest towns and particularly in fronts of Ezhuva toddy shops whose owners are suspected to be helping Kumbalangi Ezhuvas for the conduct of their riot case. I am not blaming these people for what they do, nor do I say that they are in the wrong and I alone have taken the correct view. I concede that perhaps there is much to be said on both sides, but my object is to show that the atmosphere in Cochin is also saturated with the political views of British India. At the very mention of an Englishman's name one expects to see a wry face. Yet all of us saw almost a miraculous phenomenon at the advent of the present Diwan, although he is out and out a true Englishman. Congress thinkers, Khaddar gentlemen, loyalists, extremists, moderates, Nambudiries, Nayadies, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, all unanimously rejoiced at the advent of the new Diwan. Why ? Was it because this particular Englishman had all the virtues of the English Nation with none of its vices, if any? Not for that reason. But because Cochin *very very badly* wanted a strong hand to conduct its administration. All were agreed upon that question—Brahmins, Ezhuvas, Nayars, Christians—all joined hands. Marumakkathayam or Makkathayam had no place there. We wanted a strong administrator and such a one was welcome to all, be he an English-

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man, Irish-man or Scotch-man. People forgot all their differences in the common adversity and everyone warmly welcomed your coming. And we congratulate ourselves in being fortunate enough to see such a turn of events in Cochin and I sincerely thank that power, whichever that may be, for putting you at the helm of affairs in our State.

It is not fair or proper for me to lament over the past. But be it known to you that of all castes or creeds in Cochin, I am sure those who are placed in the rear, have more reasons to be grateful for the present state of things and they are the first and foremost in the land to welcome your coming into our State for obvious reasons.

Sir, you have the good fortune to be a member of a free nation and to be born in a liberal country. You sing your National Anthem:

" Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the wave
Britons never never, never, shall be slaves ".

Your ideas are moulded in an atmosphere of high culture and civilisation and they have not been contaminated by this lunatic asylum of Swami Vivekananda, where distant pollution is perhaps the order of the day. Your outlook of things is necessarily wider and you have also travelled far and wide, far longer distances, than Mathilakam or Guruvayur and you know men and things properly and the true aspirations of a rising people. Speaking for my constituency our late lamented leader taught us to sing :—

" സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യംതന്നെ യമൃതം
സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യംതന്നെ ജീവിതം
പാരതന്ത്ര്യം മാനികൾക്കു
മൃതിയേക്കാൾ ഭയാനകം ".

I am fully confident that a nation that sings "Britons never, never, never shall be slaves" can better appreciate the full significance of our maxim than the one that sings :—

" ചാതുർവർണ്യം മയാസൃഷ്ടം
ഗുണകർമ്മ വിഭാഗശ
or again
ത്രയീമക്ഷര സംയുക്തം
ഭൂതഃ പരിവർജയേൽ ".

which translated into English will be "I created four castes according to their Gunam and Karma, that is to say, their quality and work. The fourth caste, Sudra must completely abstain from the knowledge of letters".

Coming as you do from that happy land of "equality, fraternity and liberty", you are perhaps astonished to find in this asylum one mad-cap crying out that he is polluted by the approach of a fellow being within a few yards or even by the mere sight at a considerable distance. Even water which is supposed to have property of purifying everything else in the

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world is also polluted by the approach of a human being. Even Gods are polluted by the approach of their devotees. In fact, pollution attaches to everything except the money that falls into the hands of the caste-man from the poor unapproachables. In England, perhaps, if a man however great he may be, were to insult another by saying that his approach would pollute him, I dare say that a bullet from his revolver would be the immediate response. And yet the vast multitudes of nine millions in India meekly suffered and coolly pocketed all the insults and their brethren in Cochin have been no exception to this. Alas! Hinduism, how low have thou fallen! What all inhuman atrocities are committed in thy name upon fellow beings!

"ദൈവാധീനം ജഗത്സ്സർവ്വം
മന്ത്രാധീനംതുദൈവതം
തന്മന്ത്രംബ്രാഹ്മണാധീനം
ബ്രാഹ്മണോ മമദൈവതം".

This is the Gita the high caste-man taught the poor untouchable when he went with his thirst for knowledge. The repetition of this verse, he assured him, would bring his salvation and the poor unlettered untouchable studiously repeated it thrice everyday. "ബ്രാഹ്മണോ മമദൈവതം". Brahmin is my God; Brahmin is my God". I am afraid, Sir, that I am flying off at a tangart. But suffice it to say that it is no matter of small delight for us who are 70 per cent of the people of Cochin to see an Englishman ruling our destinies in the State, whatever may be the outward or inward attitude of the other remaining 30 per cent in this respect. And I can assure you that more than seven lakhs of pure and innocent human hearts in Cochin rejoice to see you in our midst and they look upon with gratitude the many just acts done by you in the amelioration of the suffering down-trodden humanity.

Sir, permit me to say again that some of your very first acts here were of immense consolation to us. I refer to your order with regard to the practice of singing obscene songs in public places. What an outrageous attrocity, repulsive to both God and man, committed in the sacred name of religion! I am one of those who waited in a deputation upon your predecessor with my Hon'ble friend in the front row, the Member for Vadakkancheri, I mean, to request him to stop this disgraceful obscene practice as was done in the Sister State of Travancore. But that good, pious Brahmin Diwan did not dare to incur the displeasure of the Cranganur Bhadrakali by abolishing the singing of those holy songs which were highly appealing to his Hindu Maiden Goddess.

We have had enough of our indigenous Diwans or sons of the soil as they call themselves and the Member for Ezhuvas South has published his song in his Sahodaran:—

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"നാടൻ മിത്രാൻതന്നെ പാഴക്കുന്നു"".

But those days are gone, we hope, never to return.

In nature you find the big fish swallowing the small ones and the big fishes in their turn are eaten by bigger whales or sharks. Small lizards prey upon flies and the bigger reptiles devour the small lizards. Cochin is a place of warring communal conflicts and what is taking place here is the same as you find in the lower animals, the only difference being that we are not actually eaten up, but what ought to have been eaten by us is eaten by others, because they are more powerful or influential. With those who are in power here, charity begins and also ends at home. The Member for Irinjalakkuda said in the last Budget Session and perhaps very rightly too that the then Government of Cochin changed its motto from "മാതം കുലധനം ഹി; നഃ to നജാ തൊയന ജാതേന യാതിവാംതസ്യമുന്നതിം". That is, "He alone is born by whose birth his caste or Vamsa is elevated". But fortunately, you stand far above those reproaches, since you are well-known to have no cards to play and you have nobody in Cochin to be given a favour. No reasonable man can possibly attribute any motive to you and I can assure you that my constituency relies upon you with the complete confidence that everything will be safe in your hands. But of course, no man is infalliable and you cannot also be an exception to that rule. I shall try to place before you certain matters in the light in which I see them. Just as the whole universe is supposed to be resting as the result of various equilibriums the conflicting interests in Cochin all apply their forces, focussed upon you. They have to be kept in equilibrium by neutralising one against the other and by maintaining the zero point of the resultant forces always safely in your hands. Yours I dare say is no enviable task but your firm sense of justice and your dauntless courage in carrying them out and your strong determination in your duty are now too well-known in Cochin for anyone to feel any sort of anxiety. You have in this short time already created a mark in the Administration of Cochin and before you leave this State—may that event be as far remote as possible—you are sure to leave an immortal name here. Those who have carefully watched your career cannot feel any doubt about it. You care not for frown or smile and if you find a wrong done, with an iron hand you at once set it right. This was exactly the sort of administration that Cochin very badly needed.

We are launching into various large schemes such as the Broad-gauge, Railway, Harbour Works, Hydro-Electric Scheme, etc., and your advent at this critical moment is Providential. There is no use in counting and calculating alone. After all

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man's life is short and sometimes one must have the courage to venture a bold step. In my opinion which of course is only of a layman's, the Hydro-Electric scheme is really a gold mine for Cochin. Any amount invested in that project will never have to be regretted. When we eventually succeed, Cochin is going to be a different Cochin thereafter, and I do not find why we should not succeed. The fear of water snakes or mosquitoes will not keep *you* away from it. The Harbour and the Broad-gauge Railway are sure to be successfully completed and progressive Cochin is going to be also the most prosperous Cochin. Unfortunately we are confronted with a serious world-wide economic embarassment just now. Whatever be the cause of it, it has become sufficiently hazardous for us to launch into anything. Our revenues are falling and these big schemes involve larger sums of money. But I do not think that this need discourage us. We must push up with the favourable tide consistently with our resources. We can also raise debenture loans. The schemes we are entering upon being all productive ones, I believe there will be absolutely no difficulty for us to raise the sum necessary. Nor do I think that we need hesitate to borrow the surplus amount necessary after utilising the liquid assets of 47 lakhs. Every good Government have large national debt. The national debt of Great Britain is said to be enormous. I fail to see any good in the miserly policy of hoarding up, leaving the needy and the poor to pine in their misery. Large national debts indicate that so much money has been spent upon the welfare and prosperity of the people.

But according to the view that I am going to take, there are various other ways also of finding the funds, by effecting savings in our present day expenses. I shall first take up one item. I know by doing so, I am inviting much criticism and adverse comment. They are all welcome. You are going to spend, as usual, one lakh twenty six thousand and three hundred rupees for the Military department. This amount is mainly spent for the Nayar Brigade which consists of 335 sepoys and 65 other officers. As the very name indicates this is an asylum for collecting the lower ranks of the Nayar community alone. God knows what earthly use is served by these people. It is a curious spectacle to see these Malayankadans arranged in rank and file, with their sunken eyes and half famished appearance doubly bent forward supported on the muzzle of their cartridgeless fire arms, limping up and down, in their unclean kakis and unpolished brass buttons. I ask why this miserable paraphernalia! What work are they doing, but eating the revenues of the public coffers? If ever you have to make any use of them—which I suppose will never happen—do you think

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these dull-headed slow coaches will serve any useful purpose? Were they of any use in the Trichur riot for the quelling of which Coimbatore Reserve Police had to go to Trichur? Do any of them know how to use their fire arms properly? Have you ever heard of even a hair being hit by these warriors? Old revered poet Kunjan Nambiar sings the glories of the Nayar Warriors in these beautiful verses.,

"നായന്മാരെ കൊണ്ടൊരുഫലമി-
ല്ലായുധമുള്ളവർ നന്നചുരുങ്ങും"

Again when the Nayar Wariar returns home.

നായർവിശന്ന വലഞ്ഞുവരുമ്പോൾ
കായക്കഞ്ഞിക്കരിയിട്ടില്ല
ആയതുകണ്ടു കലമ്പിച്ചെന്ന
ങ്ങായുധമുടനെ കാട്ടിലെറിഞ്ഞു
ചുട്ടതിളക്കും വെള്ളമശേഷം
കുട്ടികൾതന്നുടെ തലയിലൊഴിച്ചു
കെട്ടിയപെണ്ണിനെ മടിച്ചുടാതെ
കിട്ടിയവടികൊണ്ടൊന്നുപിടച്ചു
ഉരുളികൾകിണ്ടികളൊക്കെയുടച്ചു
ഉരലുവലിച്ചുകിണറ്റിൽമറിച്ചു
ചിരവയെടുത്തഥതിയ്യിലെറിഞ്ഞു
അരകല്ലുരുകളത്തിലെറിഞ്ഞു
അതുകൊണ്ടരിശംതീരാഞ്ഞവനു
പുരയുടെചുറ്റുംമണ്ടിനടന്നു.

You have in Cochin a Police force consisting of 625 permanent employees, in addition to the temporary establishment for traffic and other purposes. The total expenditure of the Police Department comes to two lakhs twenty-three thousand and eight hundred rupees. If you consider about 600 square miles of Cochin to be inhabited by people, you have more than one policeman for every square mile which I suppose must be more than sufficient for the purposes for which they are intended. In fact the Reserve force is at present a costly ornament. If necessary, you may retain that and wisely do away with the Malayankadans. Again pages 63 and 64 of the budget shows a sum of 40 thousand rupees for religion and another 40 thousand as feeding charges. Whom are you feeding, Sir? Is it the hungry and needy of the land? Who ever thought of purchasing religion in these days at a cost of 40 thousand rupees per year? Take the example of the European countries and be prepared in time. I am sure the world-wide movement of the day will not leave Cochin unaffected. Do you think the starving millions will patiently wait and quietly look on with watering mouths those heaps of delicacies being served before the fortunate gluttons who have never known what hunger is? The day is not far when your Adidravidan will assert himself, get into your Oottupura and sit before the leaf

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and none of your *manthrams* or *thantrams* will be of any avail against that mighty current by which the sanctity of twice-birth or thrice-birth will be wiped out. You may rest assured that these enjoyments will not last long but on the other hand will only invite trouble and the earlier you stop all these the better for all concerned. Again consider how much of good money which now lies in the name of Devaswam but which really belongs to the Government is wasted in celebrating *utsavams*, fire-works and feasting. Direct that flow of money into a proper channel and consider how much the world will be benefited by a proper utilisation of it. These reforms will be quite welcome to all right-thinking men, irrespective of their caste or religion and no power on earth can prevent you from introducing these reforms and if the Gods are reasonable they cannot have also any objection and there can be no difficulty if there is another world in that region also. If matters are left as they are, how long do you think these *utsavams* and feasting can continue. Certainly not for long. The world is progressing rapidly and we in Cochin, however conservative we may be will not be long left undisturbed. I have no idea as to the extent of wealth in these Devaswams but I am told that they are fabulously rich. Money, you know, is the greatest enemy of man if not properly utilised and if used well is his greatest benefactor. I have made a suggestion and you can take it for what it is worth. Some may class me as a visionary, others as a revolutionary, some even as an agnostic. Call me whatever name you like but here are the facts. I believe I have taken up too much of your time but I wish to say a good many little things more here and there. Other members might desire to speak and in fairness to them I think I ought to wind up now. I shall avail of the opportunities that may happen to me when the cut motions come. With these remarks, I conclude and leave what I have said for your earnest consideration.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Mr. President, this is the first Budget that has been presented to this House after you assumed the office of Diwanship of this State and I take it that this marks an era of progressive administration under your regime that is to come hereafter also. It is a fact that we are now passing through hard and peculiar times. It is up to you to rise to the occasion and steer the ship of State free from all wrecks and take it to its legitimate goal. There are so many classes and creeds left under your care and protection; and you, with your characteristic shrewdness and statesmanship, I am sure, will hold the scales even between party and party and not take advantage of any fight between clan and clan. It is a fact that there are many people in this State belonging to various nationalities and creeds

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and it is no use of one party criticising the other and I do not think it serves any useful purpose for one party to assert its rights over another and that other's interests to be jeopardised thereby. I do not think that is a good sign of a healthy body politic and I really feel, that as a shrewd statesman you will be able to see by clearly judging most of these matters that, after all, these are all mere passing shows which do not really count with a real administrator.

Sir, just before your advent, there was some feeling of discontent on the floor of this House that, there was no use of the existence of this House and that its opinions were flouted. I have not had the privilege of being a member of this House for the past six years and this is the first time that I have the pleasure of entering this House as a member. I have heard it said by many of my friends here that this Council was a mere show in years past and the voice of the Council has never been recognised by the Government. And immediately after you assumed the reins of administration a change was very visible and you may be glad to know from us that the presence of a good number of Hon'ble members here, both old and new, is mainly due to the fact that we have come into an era when the voice of this House will be really felt. (*Hear, hear*). You have been following the policy of 'Trust begets Trust' and I assure you that if only you will continue this policy of trusting this House in entirety then the confidence which you will repose in us will be fully reciprocated and your regime will be one of solid success hereafter.

Before dealing with the items of the budget that have been placed before us by the Hon'ble the Finance Member I would just suggest from my little experience of what I have seen in the adjoining British Province that much of the criticism that is sought to be levelled against dwindles into practical insignificance when compared with the monstrocities perpetrated elsewhere. I may assure you, Sir, that I have had some occasion to know and you yourself will bear me out when I say that your experience in Malabar and South Canara must also tell you that having come across various Heads of departments in this State you find that the officers are really active and want to do something for the benefit of the people whom they are called upon to govern and manage. Of course I am not unduly praising or showering compliments upon the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury Bench; but I may just say that it has been my experience in the little field of activities that I have been taking there, on the other side of Malabar, that, when compared with the institutions that are working elsewhere, our State stands a favourable comparison if not to a better degree even. Permit me to say that whilst considering the administra-

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i on of this State, certain guiding principles which you yourself re perfectly well awar e of will do a certain amount of good to he activities that you have been able to introduce into the administration at present. I am sure that by the co-operation of this House and the Hon'ble Members on the Government side you will be able to pilot the ship of State successfully well with the present thrill of activity prevalent throughout the State.

In general, I want to remark that it is not good either to live on balances or to boast of a good hoarded surplus. Till now we have been having budgets where, year after year, some money is shown as hoarded amounts and criticism has been and ought to be usually levelled that it is not always a happy state of things to boast that we have got so much of surplus in the State. True, that criticism is well and good because it is not good to say that our State has got so much surplus without being spent for the material prosperity of the people of the State since naturally the question arises what for is this amount? Is it for the benefit of the people? Or is it for simply showing that you are trading by a surplus? Equally well is the other proposition difficult. When there is some balance left it is not a happy sign to live on those balances also. So, with these in mind, I think if we work out the administration in its proper form we can maintain the state of financial stability which will certainly tell much upon the prosperity of the State.

Sir, the next thing that I wish to urge here is that when I made reference to the previous budgets and the way in which at the end of the year some amounts have been allowed to lapse, I feel constrained to remark that is rather a deplorable state of things. I have known this from the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury Bench and I think they would agree with me that by allotting amounts for certain expenses and presenting this budget before this House and later on allowing such amounts to lapse without the money apportioned for such works to be carried out, does not speak a really good budget. If really you budget for certain amount of expenses that you think are legitimately necessary for the welfare of the people, by all means, carry it out and nothing shall prevent you from seing that the work has been fulfilled whether it is good, bad or indifferent. Because the opportunity is given to the Hon'ble Members of this House to thrash the whole point here, when considering funds and allotments and when after a careful consideration for about 11 days sitting at Ernakulam, when the whole House agrees that such and such amount may be spent it is not fair and good to come at the end of the year and say that a certain amount has been allowed to lapse.

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Then, Sir, I have to emphasise one other aspect. I am only passing certain general remarks and I do not propose to say anything of the budget statistics by means of facts and figures. Before I am possessed of the necessary facts and figures of the previous years it may not be proper on my part to venture to make any observation in regard to that. Now, as you are perfectly aware and some of the Hon'ble Members that preceded me spoke on this occasion, it has come to your miserable experience that eminently qualified men who have come from the portals of many Universities and who belong to Cochin are bombarding the various Heads of Departments for favours here. This problem of unemployment is very keenly felt all over India and the sister Native States and let it be to the credit of Cochin that we have been able to tide over the difficulties provided there is the will to do it. I have to criticise that in the matter of education we have bestowed perhaps greater attention on the collegiate career rather than upon the industrial side of things. I know the Hon'ble Member for education would say that there are so many institutions started on the side of industries and there are many industrial schools also opened. That may be so. But it is not this sort of industry that will relieve the problem of unemployment, and thereby solve this question which has been agitating the minds of many eminent politicians. I would say if there is private enterprise regarding industrial concerns, that shall be a primary case where the State can come and willingly offer any help. I have heard it said by many Englishmen that after all the Indian standpoint seems to be that when the Indian hoards up a large amount of money he purchases lands, takes up big constructions by making good buildings and leads a comfortable life. That has been a sort of criticism which has been levelled against us and I believe that if only enterprises in industrial concerns come forward we will be able to contribute for a better state of things in the State as well. I may also say that if there are people here in the State who are in a position to take up industrial concerns on a large scale by means of their private capital and if on such occasions the State comes to their proper rescue and offer substantial help within the limited means that the State can command I am sure that that will be the best relief which can certainly be given to many of those unemployed here.

Then, Sir, I can only say that in all enactments and of all considerations you are going to show in the matter of your administration the foremost guiding principle shall be that the wish of the people shall be sought and cared. If that be the guiding principle of your administration, I am sure this House

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and all the subjects of the State will certainly co-operate with you in seeing those objects carried out in entirety.

With these general remarks, I wish, Sir, to say a few words regarding the budget that has been presented to this House. I shall just take a few questions one by one as they arise. First, I shall deal with the question of Law and Justice. So far as I have seen, most of our State Rules and Regulations require some codification and I would only take as an example one solitary instance of it, our Criminal Procedure Code which is far behind the times. Similarly, the Hon'ble Law Member will agree with me that there are many enactments which are far behind our times and the present day requirements. It is up to us to see that even with the little amount that has been allotted to this department the Rules and Regulations which really require a certain amount of codification and amendment are made at the earliest possible opportunity. Then, Sir, one remark I wish to offer regarding this particular branch of Law and Justice would be that one of the main assets of the State must be a free, efficient judiciary manned by men of ability and character. Sir, it has been often said here on the floor of this House, as was done to-day, and outside too, that in the matter of appointments questions of representations of communities ought to be considered and that I make bold to say has been responsible for the sacrifice of the real efficiency that it requires. I would at least suggest that in the matter of appointments to the judiciary, the primary consideration shall be the question of efficiency, capacity and character rather than age and seniority which also may to some extent prevail.

Then, Sir, coming to the Department of Police, I have to say a few words on this occasion. It was rather interesting to me to hear one day from a friend of mine in the Police Department that he has been made a D. S. P. of Police. I really congratulated him and told him that his cadre has been raised, his status enhanced and that he was really feeling to be a grand D. S. P. But the next word that he said was " I have not the emoluments attached to that office as you are aware in your parts." You know, Sir, that a District Superintendent of Police, a District Magistrate and a District Judge are District officers so far as the British Indian States are concerned. To import these ideas here at least by their designation of their offices as D. S. P. and Inspectors of Police without the necessary remuneration being attached to those officers, looks in my opinion to be really a funny state of things. I do not wish to characterise this by anything serious; but I would only suggest that if really we want our people to have such pucca designations and carry with them such a great extent of

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dignity which they wish to impose upon people by pretending themselves to be big District officers, then there is nothing harmful in allowing such a show provided a decent remuneration is paid to such officers by which the dignity of the office will be maintained. I have to say one or two words more regarding the department. I mean not to cast any aspersions on any particular individuals. But, Sir, from my little experience in other parts I have seen, I say, for the information of the Hon'ble Official Member of Police that although his Police Force is penerally very efficient yet in the matter of doing traffic duty our ceople are not at all up to the mark. Only the principle of gontrolling the traffic at the particular junctions has been copied without the corresponding elements that constitute the capacity of the constable to do traffic duty. I think, that perhaps it has not been brought to the notice of the authorities that in such matters it is highly necessary that the people who are doing such duties and who are invested with the powers of controlling traffic in congested areas, may be given certain amount of training if it is possible even outside Cochin. It may be noted that the system that has been introduced into our State is really good and that also speaks very well of the department. But while introducing the system, please see, that the proper training also is given to the parties concerned.

I have another suggestion to make regarding that Department, namely, as I now understand, we have got no longer any Sub-Inspectors in service—the Sub-Inspectors' grade is completely abolished—we have Inspectors, we have D. S. Ps. and we have a Commissioner of Police. Perhaps we have a Motor Inspector as well. These, I think, are the officers now working in the Department. I would just say if really any orders in this Department ought to be passed by the Commissioner himself personally and if his whole time is occupied with that of the administration of the Police force looking into the most minutest of the details that perhaps may not give him full time to look into the other activities of the Department in which case another post may be created. I am sure that the Hon'ble members may say that in these days when everybody is clamouring for retrenchment another member should be asking for the introduction of a new one. I speak with full knowledge of this fact and in the suggestion I am going to make, it will be perfectly possible, without in any way touching the revenues of the State to any extraordinary degree, to carry out my suggestion. I understand that there are two Prosecuting Inspectors now appointed in the Police Department and from the statistics that are available to me in the course of my enquiries I come to understand that the work of the two might very properly be allotted to one.

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There is not much work that these two Prosecuting Inspectors are doing and if only the authorities will consider that, to have an efficient administration of the Police, it is necessary that as little extra work is allotted to people who are full-timed officers in that Department, a new post of an Assistant to the Commissioner can be easily created by abolishing one post of a Prosecuting Inspector.

I now advert to the most important subject, namely, an institution which is Medical. Well, Sir, it is common knowledge that the only and the most charitable institution in the State is the Medical Department. When I analysed the Budget I came across the figures that were allotted to that Department. I was really under the impression that with that amount allotted to the Department it would be able to meet all the wants and necessities of the Department. Now,Sir, in my constituency, I can speak with some authority that in the very place where it is considered to be a Government hospital we have got an out-patient department where both males and females assemble in an open verandah without absolutely any privacy. For conducting operations there is a small room intended as the consultation room also for the Sub-Assistant Surgeon in charge who after a few hours converts it into an operation room by asking the people to go outside and have their consultations elsewhere. I suggest, Sir, a remedy for not only these things but also other important drawbacks in the matter of Medical Department must certainly come as the foremost consideration in the administration of the State. I may say that not only in this small matter but in the accommodation of in-patients our accommodation is very poor so far as the mofussil hospitals are concerned. I am told that very often many radical changes that are necessary in this department have been brought to the notice of the Hon'ble Member for Medicine. But perhaps the cry of the day would have been the question of funds to be allocated to these bodies. I would suggest, Sir, that for the healthy administration of the State which must certainly stand above reproach, the one thing that is most desired by the people of the State would be that of medical relief if the Government really exists for the welfare of the people. It is the interest of the poor that ought to be safeguarded. We, educated men, rich men coming abroad and coming into closer contact with other people may find opportunities of going elsewhere. But in the case of this particular Department let it be noted, since it is mainly one that helps the poor and helpless patients,some amout more than the one that is budgetted for ought to have been provided for its proper and efficient administration,

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Coming to Education, I have not much to offer because we are now in an advanced stage and Cochin has had the credit of maintaining that in point of education it stands second to none. But I may well suggest for the information of the Hon'ble Member for Education that, if it is in any way appreciable there is ample scope for much research work in the Cochin State. If there are certain students of outstanding merit and intelligence they should be given some research scholarships and the State may very well help some students in the matter of sending them for study in foreign research colleges.

Coming to the Department of Engineering it is very sad to see that of all the items that have been budgetted for one important thing that has escaped its notice is the main point of irrigation. I specially and very guardedly use the word 'escaped' becuse it is plainly seen from the budget itself that a sum has been provided for irrigation. But when I say that it has been purposely ignored, I mean thereby, that only a small amount, which is hardly sufficient to meet the wants of the people, has been provided in this year's budget.

Sir, you will agree with me that, as one Hon'ble Member put it, the main backbone of this country is the peasant and the agriculturist classes. For the agriculturist classes to have their operations carried to satisfaction and for themselves to get on and to have a hand to mouth living, it is highly essential that irrigation systems should come into force. Here, more often than not, we come across complaints of failure of crops rather than tenants saying that they have had the benefits of reaping the crops. Under such circumstances, next to the important branch of medicine, I would urge the question of providing the ryots with an abundant supply of water. The Hon'ble Member for Engineering has been able to achieve much in the matter of providing water for drinking purposes in many of the local areas where there has been scarcity and drought of water. I would only bring to the attention of the Government that irrigation schemes, wherever possible and wherever plausible, may be resorted to by the Government ; and out of the am ount that has been budgetted for (if it is possible, even by reducing the amount that is necessary for the construction of certain huge Public Works Department buildings) let us give a sort of protection mainly for the benefit of the ryots. That would certainly speak of a better state of things.

Turning to the Excise Department, I have not much to say, except it be, that the Hon'ble Member for Excise must have realised by this time that he is not going to realise much of the revenue that he hopes to realise this year. We are now

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passing through stirring times and this idea of total prohibition would certainly promote the welfare of the citizen and if I may boldly assert, lead to a dry Cochin, if it is possible, in the years to come. (*Hear, hear*). Hence it is better that we don't budget for immoral revenue. I may be pardoned for using that expression, 'immoral' I don't mean any insinuation. It is not quite advisable that a State should rely upon converting its sober people into drunkards and indent upon a revenue which they get by the sale of liquor to the peaceful peasants.

Then regarding the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments, I have a word to say. I am afraid I have exceeded the time and you will pardon me, Sir, if I take five minutes more. It has come to my notice that so far as the Co-operative Department is concerned, it is not working to the satisfaction which it is expected to give. I am sure that many of the villagers in rural parts do not know what is the Co-operative system that is worked. Somebody comes and says, "Look here. Here is a Department. You better join this Department" and some ideas are suggested. I may mention that in these days, when every body is trying to introduce co-operation among the various communities of the State and when a sort of responsible Government is achieved by all alike throughout the whole world, through the medium of co-operation, the Co-operative Department requires an entire re-organisation, by which they will be compelled to infuse that spirit of co-operation into the minds of the subjects for which they owe their very existence in the State. I mean only to pass certain general remarks like that because, as I said before, I am not in possession of any statistics.

On the point of Agriculture, I wish to mention as I said, regarding the Engineering Department while dealing with the question of irrigation, we have not reached that stage which was expected to be reached by the introduction of this department. Let me not be misunderstood here also but, I need only say that if demonstration farms are constructed in rural areas, and the Agricultural Department takes more keen and active interest in the facilities that are afforded to the agriculturists, and in teaching them on the present day improved methods of cultivation and if all these things are practically done rather than a tour by the Inspectors or Officers concerned for the purpose of statistics, such efforts will really promote the real interests of the citizens of the State—the agriculturists.

Well Sir, on the question of forests you will see that this year's revenue has been shown as less in the budget because it is anticipated that the present world depression will tell heavily. I know the timber market is very dull now. If only we tap certain sources of revenue in the matter of Forest Exclusions

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which is really possible to be tapped I can assure the Government that the fall in revenue, which will necessarily be seen in the case of other departments, mainly in Excise, will to some extent, be compensated by the revenues which we can realise by the sale of our timber and forest produce.

Coming to the question of Land Revenue, due regard being had to the recent events that we have seen in the sister State of Pudukotta, let the Hon'ble Member for Revenue realise that especially in the matter of realisation of revenue undue coercive steps are not taken and the patience of the people is not tired beyond limit (*Hear, hear.*) In the matter of collection of revenue, of course, no body can say that a State can get on without its revenue being paid by the citizens of the State. It is certainly highly essential for the tax-payers to perform their part of the duty and it is up to the State to rise to the occasion and readily respond by extending the hand of co-operation. But considering the present hard times through which we are passing and the great financial stringency, and the failure of crops every where, and the fall in the price of foodstuffs, and in the articles which these tenants are able to produce, taking all these things into consideration, it will be a wise policy on the part of the Hon'ble Member if only he sees that by gradual instalments the revenues are realised from the tenants and especially in the case of those who are hard hit by making some remissions also.

These are the suggestions that I wish to make. But I may add one word more namely, regarding any point we are going to consider on the floor of this House, let it be distinctly understood that there is no use of one man criticising another and one class saying something against another class. We are all existing and we must exist and we will continue to exist in spite of any body saying anything. Let me assure you, Sir, that all the Hon'ble Members of this House will heartily co-operate with you, and I eagerly desire to see that when ultimately you lay down your reins of administration it shall be said to your credit that yours has been an administration, most efficient and beneficial both to the ruler and to the ruled.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Sir, this is the seventh opportunity that I get for criticising the budget of the State. But I am sorry to say that I got no opportunity of congratulating the Government for bringing a budget with a sound financial policy behind it. The Government of Mr. Narayana Ayyar began to develop a tendency for hoarding up from the very beginning and I used to stand upon the floor of this House year after year to condemn that policy. But it was all in vain.

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I was expecting an ideal budget this year but I am also sorry to have to say that I was sorely disappointed. I wet through it from page to page to find anything like a sound financial policy but in vain. I could not find anything beyond a balancing of the figures of the income and expenditure without paying due regard to the actual needs of the State.

Sir, almost all the items of our revenue have ceased to be elastic. The Land Revenue has reached its maximum. There is no chance of increasing it in future. On the other hand, if the present fall in the price of paddy continues you will have to cut it down to not an insignificant figure. It is not really land-tax that we are paying now. It is really rent. For the tax is fixed at half of the net yield. This tax was also fixed at a time when the market price of paddy was not less than eight annas per para. Now you know that the price of paddy has gone down to as low a figure as five annas per para. You do not really seem to have obtained a correct idea of the extent of the distress prevailing among those who are depending upon agriculture. If you had, you would certainly have given some remission of tax to them. You would not have also anticipated to collect the usual amount next year.

The next big item of Revenue is from salt. Those who are following the events that are taking place in British India need not be told that the days of this iniquitous tax is numbered. Even the truce terms between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy have sanctioned the violation of the salt law. It is certain that one of the first acts of the Swaraj Government would be the abolition of this tax and those who have eyes can see that that Government is not far off.

The ever expanding Abkari Revenue has also begun to contract. We see signs of it in this budget. Our Government does not seem to have correctly understood the true import and magnitude of the Temperance Movement that has taken root in the country. They may be hoping against hope that this is only a passing phase. But let me tell them with all the emphasis that I can command that this movement has come to stay and that the Government can no longer depend upon this tainted revenue. I know as a matter of fact that the figures that you actually find as anticipated for the next year's budget cannot represent the actual state of affairs. I know that much pressure had to be exercised upon the toddy auction vendors to induce them to take up the contract for the next year.

The Custom Revenue has shown signs of expansion and I think that with the completion of the Harbour works, we may get a fairly large revenue from this source but I am sure that his will not replace the loss in the Abkari and Salt Revenues,

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This and the other increase will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of a progressive administration like ours.

The only way to face the situation is to tap some new sources of revenue. I do not find many such. New taxes are always unwelcome and especially in times of such economic depression. But there is one to which the Government can resort to with advantage and without any reasonable opposition. I mean the income-tax on non-agricultural income. It will affect only a comparatively small number of people who do not pay any direct tax now. There are a large number of merchants in Mattancheri and other commercial centres in the State who are enjoying all the amenities provided by the State without making a corresponding return to the State Exchequer.

The Government should also explore the various possibilities affecting retrenchment in the various departments without affecting efficiency. They should not at the same time stint expenses for nation building purposes such as Education, Sanitation, Medical relief, etc.

I welcome the idea of the Government to raise a loan for meeting the expenses of the Harbour the Railway and the Hydro-Electric works. All of them are reproductive works and will be in a position to pay their ways in cource of time. It would be a folly if they think of providing for these works from the current income. The benefits of these undertakings are to be enjoyed by posterity and it is quite and proper that they should proportionately bear the burden. My position is that the Government should spend from the current revenue only for the investigation and experiment of these schemes. The rest should be met by raising a loan. I am glad that the Government is gradually beginning to realise this and I congratulate them for this. They need not restrict the loans to 75 lakhs and starve the other nation building activities. They can borrow the whole 125 lakhs, if they please. The present financial position of the State is very sound and I am sure there will be no difficulty to raise this amount.

This much about the general financial policy of the State. I shall next proceed to examine the next years' budget with a view to see how far it makes provision for the requirements of the country. I shall also try to review some of the salient outstanding features of this year's administration.

The most crying need of the hour is to provide for some relief for the economic distress of the country. What has the Government done to relieve that distress beyond stating the facts in half a dozen places, that we are passing through a very serious and acute period of economic depression and showing some lip sympathy with the aggrieved? The fact that this

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depression is a world wide one and is very difficult of solution is no consolation to us. This House brought it to the notice of the Government by means of a resolution and yet they did not do anything to tackle that problem. It is true that they gave some remission of kists to the Abkari contractors, persons engaged in one of the most unmoral traffics. It is generally viewed as a tip and as an inducement to them to bid at the auction sales for the next year. The fact that thāt announcement was made when many of the auction sales were going on lends colour to that view. But what have they done for the relief of the honest cultivator who did not get from his lands enough to meet the cultivation charges and to pay the Government tax? Did they give any remission of tax to them? Did they even give a reasonable extention of time for payment of tax? No. I know of cases in which properties were attached and sold for the realisation of even such small amounts as 12 annas. A large portion of the Government Gazette was devoted for the attachment and sale notices for arrears of land tax for the last few months. These agriculturists form the back bone of the country. More than 70 per cent of the people of the State are dependent upon agriculture. Their income from the lands are not, in many cases sufficient to meet the cultivation charges as I said above. These people have no work during the off seasons. A kind and sympathetic Government should organise some work for their leisure hours, and enable them to increase their earning capacity. In ancient days they had some subsidiary industry or other to engage their leisure time. But now they have not got any in most places. I know that in the southern taluks and where cocoanut fibres are obtainable in plenty, they take to coir making. But there seems to be no market for their finished product and many are giving up their work. If the Government does not take immediate steps to dissiminate correct information about the ways and means of marketing their finished products and help them with small funds either through co-operative societies or otherwise, they will lose the only cottage industry that they have now. The Government should at least appoint a special officer to study this problem, to ascertain the extent of the distress, to acquire and dissiminate knowledge concerning economic conditions of the country and to suggest measures to combat unemployment, etc.

So far as our Government is concerned Retrenchment is only "in the air". They are waiting to see what other Governments are doing because they are not faced with any huge deficits yet. This is exactly a case of Nero playing when Rome is burning. They really do not know with what difficulty the people have paid the taxes and with what heartless zeal their

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servants have managed to collect it. So far as the ordinary man in the street is concerned, there is no money in the country. They were already heavily in debts. The little credit that they had is also gone. They are not in a position to find the wherewithal to keep the wolf from the door. The only men who are quite well off are the Government servants. They get their pay and the increases too regularly. All the articles of daily use can be obtained at a very cheap rate. They alone are quite happy and contended. They are expected to be the custodians of peace and prosperity in the land. Will they rise to the occasion? Whether they do it or not, let me warn them that they will not be able to collect the whole of the land revenue next year if conditions do not improve. It is better for the interests of all concerned to give them some remission instead of driving them to despair. You can easily make up that amount by effecting retrenchment wherever possible. The pay of all the officers drawing a pay of Rs. 100 or more should be reduced at a progressive rate as they do in the case of income-tax in British India. They cannot reasonably complain. Their pay was fixed at a time when the cost of living was very high. It is for that reason that they were raised in the last few years. Now that the cost of living has gone down very low it is but meet and proper that they should apply the axe wherever possible without impairing the efficiency of administration. Instead of doing this what do we find the Government doing? They are raising the pay of some of their servants such as the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer, the College Professors etc. It is not very long since orders were passed upon the Special Finance Committee Report. What is the earthly justification in going against the report of that expert body and the orders of the Government in these days of extreme economic depression? This is probably the reply to the resolution of the Indian National Congress which laid down that in the future Swaraja Government the maximum pay of an officer will not generally exceed Rs. 500.

I can only say at this stage that this is one of the evils of having foreigners as our Diwans. They belong to the heaven-born Civil Service of British India, the most highly paid Civil Service in the world. They get a very fat pay there and keep a high standard of living. They do not know and much less appreciate the standard of living of an average poor Indian. They live and have their being in a higher plane and are unable to think in terms of the life of the masses. This may be one of the reasons for the readiness to increase the pay of the officers for the mere asking of it.

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To my humble mind, Sir, retrenchment is possible in various departments and I would respectfully suggest the appointment of a small committee to go into that question and report, if you yourself cannot do it.

Another example for the reckless way in which the Government proposes to spend the tax payers' money and which betrays a want of a sound continuity of policy is the provision of Rs. 2,50,000 for the extension of the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam. Here is the partly executed Ramavarmapuram College Scheme, suggested by the First Grade College Committee, consisting of some of the veteran educationists of the State, approved by two successive Diwans and the University authorities, sanctioned by two Legislative Councils, a scheme which had been before the public of Cochin for four or five years and even more before it was finally decided upon and about which no serious protest were raised by the enlightened public of Cochin, a scheme which has the vast potentialities of becoming the nucleus of the future Kerala University, a scheme the execution of which had been taken up in right earnest after the exercise of repeated pressure by this August Council and after the place being christened by the name of Our Gracious Ruler, His Highness the Maharaja, this scheme has been thrown to the winds by a single thoughtless stroke of the hasty pen of the present Diwan with the ostensible purpose of respecting the wishes of public opinion, but really without caring to know the real public opinion and the financial waste involved therein and setting aside expert opinion in preference to that of a body of interested lay men. I do not propose to go into this question in more detail at this stage. I have tabled a cut motion and a resolution on this subject and I hope to be able to expose the vagaries of the present Government so far as this matter is concerned. Let me only tell the Government that the public has a right to know the details of this muddle and will not allow it to play ducks and drakes with the public funds and will resist every attempt to do it by all constitutional means.

Sir, this is another instance of the evil of having foreign Diwans. Probably they get personal responsibility and initiative in a large measure for the first time when they are placed at the Heads of the Administration in the Native States. They are naturally ambitious of doing some thing striking and one of the easiest ways of doing it is to undo what has been done by the previous Government irrespective of the consideration whether they were good or bad, just or unjust. There will therefore be no continuity of policy. The Government will then begin to lose its prestige and dignity and will cease to command the respect and awe which it ought to.

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Sir, I am very sorry to have to say all these and I would not have said this had I not thought that I would be failing in my duty to my country if I do not tell you frankly what a large section of the public really feels. Sir, you are reputed to be a man of good intentions. The public entertained great discontent about the previous administration. They were doing some things as they likedwithout due regard to the best interests of the State and the public. I think you might have seen by this time that the Cochin politics would be very insipid if there were not the question of appointments. The whole of our politics turns round the loaves and fishes of office. If you look deeper you will see that even the so called communal problems and the cry raised in its name are the work of a few disappointed educated people. The mind of the masses is sound. It does its honest work without caring whether A gets this job or B gets that job. This is the plain reading of the situation by one who is not after any Government job. The past Government was not free from the vices of having a set of favourites around it. Sometimes appointments were made out of considerations more of favouritism than of merit. There were instances of even posts being created to provide berths for their own relations. Great discontent prevailed in the country on account of this. It was at such a time that you came here. And every body thought that you being an outsider, were free from any prejudices and would therefore bring to bear your dispassionate judgment on all matters. I have therefore welcomed most heartily, and were very much impressed with the quickness of despatch that you brought to bear upon your work. But some absolutely disinterested men are now beginning to feel that you are also not free from some of the above ordinary human weakness.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Because their own men are not appointed.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—No, Sir. It is not on account of that. It is because they don't find any consistant policy. They grope about in vain to see a definite and beneficent policy in your actions. Some are even beginning to see faintly a policy of undoing all that has been done by the previous Government. I am not against doing justice to those who had been unjustly treated by the previous Government. But it should not be justice with a vengeance. The prestige of the Government should be kept. There must be some continuity of policy in all its actions and one should interfere only when the policy of the previous Government is calamitous or dangerous. Some of the important appointments

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hat you have made betrays the lack of this wholesome principle. There is no use of satisfying the clamours of some section by creating legitimate discontent in the other. Educational qualifications and eificiency should not be sacrificed at the alter of communal bogy. I understand discontent is brewing in the services by overlooking the claims of some trusted men by putting some body below them in service without any special reason over them. The public has a right to know whether the present Government follows a fixed policy in making the appointments and if so, what it is. Is it seniority in service? Is it educational qualifications? Is it efficiency? Or is it a combination of any one of these or any other considerations of communal representation or favouritism or such like?

I do not also understand the policy of dragging in men from their retired life and employing them again in service. Let it be clearly understood that I have no quarrel with the personnel of the appointment. All honour to him for the trouble he takes in his old age for serving his country. But my objection is on principle. We should not think that a particular man is indispensable for a particular work. How can you say that there are not other competent men to occupy that post without giving them an opportunity to show themselves out?

Sir, my time is up and I am obliged to conclude. I am sorry to have had to strike a note different from those struck by the Hon'ble Members who spoke before me. I am not unaware by some of the good points in your administration such as a general improvement in the tone of the administration, the quickness of despatch that you are able to bring to bear upon it, the driving force that you are able to give to it, &c. As against these there are some grievances also some of which I have attempted to elaborate in any speech. That is all.

The house rose for lunch at 2 p. m. and met again at 3 p. m. with the President in the chair.

Mr. P. Raman Menon.—Sir, we meet here at a very critical period in the history of Cochin. Members of the House sitting on the Treasury Benches may not realise the effect of the present economic depression so well as the representatives of the people. People with fixed money income are not affected by the economic depression. What with the fall in the prices of essentials of life, officers of the Sirkar drawing high salaries are only gainers. The question whether the salaries of Gazetted Officers should not undergo big downcuts deserves the serious attention of the Government. I do not subscribe to the view advocated in some quarters that to tide over the present difficulties, some officers should be thrown overboard. That will only increase the number of unemployed in the State. It

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is the duty of the Government to find out proper remedies. Reduction of taxes, liberal grants of agricultural loans and the starting of productive works which will give employment to the labourers are some of them. But they are not all. The prohibitive rates at which pupils are taught in our schools deserve radical reduction. It is indeed a pity that at this critical time text books in almost all the classes in our schools were changed.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Exactly so.

Mr. P. Raman Menon.—The students experience very great difficulty to get admission to the professional Colleges in British India. It is high time that something is done to remove this grievance. Cochin has been lagging behind in matters indusrial, all these years. The Tanneries and the Potteries were starved to death by an unsympathetic Government. Industries have not received the extent of support that people can legitimately expect from a Government which used to take pride in hoarding up of money! Cochin labours under very serious disabilities from the want of proper markets for her products. We have lost some of the markets which used to find purchasers for products from the cocoanuts on account of competition from other quarters. To make up this loss, we should ourselves have means of producing finished articles. For all these, we require very sympathetic help and guidance at the hands of the Government. We want experts to advice the people on all the above matters. It is only when we realise how most starved people generally are, that we would be able to understand the extent of responsibilities of the Government. I am not concerned in finding out the causes of the present world-wide economic depression; nor am I consoled at the thought that our neighbours also starve along with us. The duty of the Government is to find out immediately proper remedies and to put them into action. I do not forget the fact that a Committee went into this question some time back; but it was at a time when the conditions were not so acute as to-day. The order passed by the Government in this matter requires through revision in the light of the developments that we have been watching all around us. I am not unmindful of the timely help that the Government extended to some Excise contractors who were really affected by the present economic strain. But these are all small measures when compared to the real needs of the people. Unless some permanent works and improvements are taken up at once people may not be able to stand the strain any longer. Speaking of my constituency, some permanent works of irrigation will give the agricultural people of the place considerable amount of relief. Wet lands lying near the forest tracts

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that is the Kyppattoor Puncha from want of proper outlets for the excess water that collects in them during the rainy season, suffer from failures of crops almost every year. If the Government take to some irrigational works under proper guidance many of the single crop lands in my constituency can be converted into double crop and even triple crop lands. I need not restate that people living in a land of plenty cannot be affected by the world-wide depression so long as they do not go in for foreign articles for their daily up-keep; and the agricultural people of the State as a class belong to this category.

We live in very critical times in another sense also. The second Round Table Conference is to meet ere long and it is most likely that as a result of the deliberations of that body, India may get a constitution of the Federal type. In that constitution Indian States like Cochin will have a place. If the Federal Government should work on democratic and responsible lines, the Government of the component parts also should be based on remocratic and Responsible lines. It is time for us to think how far Government can be improved. As it is the Executive is not responsible to the Legislature. This was made sufficiently clear by Diwan Bahadur Mr. Narayana Ayyar when his Government certified all the demands that this House threw out. It is only when the people are really discontended at the existing state of things that their representatives resort to extreme steps of the like they resorted to last year. If the Executive is responsible to the Legislature such extreme steps will never be resorted to. One of the reforms for which we were agitating lies in the direction of establishing a really representative Executive Council for Cochin and it is long overdue. We are confident that we possess a sympathetic administrator in you. This was made sufficiently clear when you accorded to us the privilege of having an Elected Deputy President. We know that we possess in our Maharaja a kind and liberal Ruler. With a liberal minded minister like you as the adviser of the Maharaja we are confident that Cochin will march steadily fast in the path to progress politically, constitutionally and economically.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, in reviewing the work of the administration in the past year and in considering the proposals for the future, I would set before myself for the present the main characteristics of good Government and sound administration as held out by no less a man than Lord Irwin. It is not very often that a Viceroy, surrounded by the problems of the highest magnitude and the greatest complexity, may spare the necessary time for visiting a small outlying State like Cochin. And it is not every small State like Cochin tha

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can bear the expenditure which a Viceregal visit entails. I recall with extreme pleasure and thankfulness the memorable words of that great and good Viceroy—words constituting a Magna Carta for Cochin—which so soon and so easily metamorphosed the stagnant Administration of Cochin. These words have been quoted ere this. But in so far as they set forth the goal towards which every administration should work, I offer no apology in quoting them again. In responding to the toast of their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin, proposed by His Highness, His Excellency said:—"It is also my hope that as material prosperity advances development of administration may not be permitted to lag behind. Good Government spells happiness for the people and prosperity both for ruler and for ruled and I trust that your Highness' first thought, as that of all wise rulers, will be constantly to preserve the standard of your administration." It is indeed gratifying to see that these words, pregnant with meaning, took immediate effect. The stagnant administration, for which your predecessor was responsible, at last, like all evils, ended. And you, Sir, have been invited to take charge of the administration of a State, which, even as far as three decades ago, had the proud privilege to be styled a model State and which, in spite of the enforced deterioration of the last decade, continued to stand in the forefront in several branches of its administration. You have only started, and it is too early to pass any remarks upon your administration. Let me hope that as administrator you will always set before you a very high standard of administration for which your experience and the traditions of your service have amply qualified you. And from your officers, who are to do the team-work for you, you have to demand and exact such work as a high standard of administration requires.

Sir, the Member for Urakam, just before he closed his speech, raised the question whether foreign Diwanship was necessary for a State like Cochin.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—I never did that.

Mr C. A. Ouseph.—I am very glad to hear that. There was, however, a criticism on drafting Diwans to the State from outside. This is a point that has agitated the minds of the citizens of Cochin for several years. During the closing days of Sir T. Vijayaraghava Achari, as Diwan, there was a tug-of-war between two schools of thought over this matter. And finally those who stood for Cochinite Diwanship succeeded, and we had as Diwan Rao Bahadur Paruvakat Narayana Menon who in turn was succeeded by Diwan Bahadur T. S. Narayana Ayyar. If the State of Cochin, which was a model State in the days of foreign Diwans, deteriorated and the people thereby

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suffered, it was due to the indigenous Diwanship responsible for guiding the destinies of the State during a period of nearly 10 years.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Question, question.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—In this connection I may refer to what I had occasion to say in 1101. During the Budget Session of that year I had occasion to say in this House thus in reference to foreign Diwans:—"Thanks to them, in spite of the alleged imperfectness of their knowledge"—the same imputation as is made now, an alleged imperfectness of knowledge regarding local conditions—"they made Cochin what she is to-day. They opened for the State new permanent sources of revenue and relieved her from the financial crisis which it had been her misfortune to have to face. They undertook development works such as the Railway and the Harbour, opened out various parts of the State by a net work of communications, showered the blessings of Education on the poorer and the depressed classes, threw open the Jealously guarded portals of Government Service to classes till then kept out, created the consciousness of citizen-ship among the rich and poor alike, regardless of caste, creed or colour, laid well and strongly the foundations of a Legislative Council and generally brought Cochin in frequent and healthy contact with the world outside." The Member who represented the Jenmies in the last Council was against importing foreign Diwans, but in the last Budget Speech he made he had occasion to say as follows :—"The Indianization of the services is now a great cry in India in general and "Cochin for Cochinites" is a similar cry in our State in particular. That, in such a condition of public feeling, the reported advent as Diwan of an outsider, and that outsider a European, should be hailed with enthusiastic delight by every man, woman and child in Cochin, outside a small clique, is an unmistakable indication of popular feeling in regard to the administration of the State in the last quinquennium". Sir, there is ample justification for having brought down an administrator from outside.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Sir, may I offer a personal explanation? What I meant was only that it is not an unmixed good. The importation of foreigners in not an unmixed good.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—I am glad again to hear that. It may not be an unmixed evil. The evil that has otherwise to be suffered here is so great that, for a long time, the people of Cochin being what they are, foreign Diwans must continue to administer here. But then we are not without remedies. The alleged imperfectness of the knowledge of foreign Diwans can be made up by means ready to hand. We have a Legislative Council and it is not very difficult to give us an Executive Council. An

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Executive Council, charged with the administration of several departments, co-operating with the Diwan will be able to enunciate and give fixity to Government policy.

Now Sir, speaking of the Legislative Council, I would bring to the notice of the Government that the franchise that we have at present is a very limited one. The franchise qualification as at present fixed is very high. While in Travancore, it has been fixed at Rs. 5, in the case of land-tax, here it is Rs. 10. While Travancore is followed in several matters by our Government, we follow British India in that respect. I may state for the information of the House that only about 2 per cent of the the population of the State have been enfranchised. Only 2 persons out of every 100 in Cochin have the right to vote and being selected by that 2 per cent it is that we come here to legislate for all the people. That is, Sir, a very unsatisfactory state of affairs which must be remedied. The poorer sections of the people, those sections which we are known as the depressed classes, have absolutely no voice in the administration of the State. But for Mr. Vallon, nominated to represent the depressed classes, and but for Messrs. Raman and Ayyappan who have come in on the communal vote, there would not have been in this House any member to represent the poorer, the depressed and the backward classes. Such a state of affairs ought to be remedied and that without delay. If all that is remedied there will be fixity in policy, whoever be the Diwan, whether he is a foreigner or Cochinite. Even if there be no Diwan, in that case, we can carry on the administration beautifully fulfulling all such ideals of a progressive administration as are referred to in the Administration Reports of the State for the years 1104 and 1105.

Now, Sir, I have referred to the words of the Viceroy as indicating the standard of Administration which we ought to look for under a good Government. I am glad to find that after that speech was made by the Viceroy, your predecessor took care to say in the Administration Report issued by him for the year 1104, that all the essential needs of a sound and progressive administration were kept in view and were able to promote the general well-being of His Highness' subjects. I am reading from the Administration Report of 1104:—

"The Government kept steadily in view the fulfilment of all the essential needs of a sound and progessive administration and were able to promote the well-being of His Highness' subjects by carrying out a programme of the steady expansion of educational activities, the development of medical relief, the improvement of village communications and highways, a more liberal policy towards Panchayats in the matter of the provision of water supplies, a generous treatment of the depressed classes in regard to special facilities for education and self-improvement, the stimulation of the

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co-operative movement and closer attention to the improvement of agriculture and irrigation". You had the fortune, if not the misfortune, to write the report for the year 1105. I am very glad to see that, in regard to the intentions of your predecessor's administration, you have only copied a few lines from his report for 1104 wherein he had laid down his policy. I shall take up for consideration a few of the various items pointed to by your predecessor as the essentials which have to be looked after by a sound and progressive administration. The first is the expansion of Educational facilities. I must admit that in fact there is an expansion of educational activities. But more money is spent and is going to be spent where it should not be spent—I mean under Collegiate Education. I call it more a waste than a useful application of the hoarded money collected from the taxpayer. We have more unemployment in Cochin among the graduates and undergraduates than among other people. In these circumstances, Sir, is it not the duty of the Government to give more attention to Primary education, Secondary education and Vocational education than for the Collegiate education upon which in regard to the venture at Anappara alone you may have to spend anything like 20 to 50 lakhs in the near future. Sir, I see from the Administration Report for 1105 that over 145·7 per cent of the boys and 81·6 per cent of the girls of school-going age were attending schools. I question the correctness of the figures. Having made some calculations, I am led to think that of the population of school-going age only about 60 per cent is attending schools. Those who prepared the figures for the report do not seem to have taken into calculation the growth of population during the last decade. They have also taken a lower-percentage as representing the school-going population. The school-going population is considered to be 14 per cent. It is not correct. We must regard all children of say 5 years, to say 12 or 13 years as constituting population of the school-going age. If that is taken as the correct figure—the figure given by me above—60 per cent will be seen to be nearer to correctness. That, Sir, is not a very satisfactory state of affairs. We have to improve our system of education. We have also to see that people who are poor are enabled to receive education. It is the duty of the State gradually to introduce compulsory education in the State.

Then with regard to the Medical relief. You are spending more for Medical relief than before. But what are the results? The increase of patients attending hospitals is not an index of progress or prosperity. Sir, in 1104 the number of out-patients was 5,75,495, in 1105 5,94,131; in-patients 12,593 in 1104 and

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in 1105 13,544, and those who died in hospitals in 1104, 558, while in 1105 the number is 700. These figures do not show we are improving.

I may also just refer to vital statistics. It is to vital statistics that we must look, to see whether there is real progress in administration. We can see therefrom whether our sanitary arrangements and Medical relief really go to make healthy citizens. In 1104 there were 16,203 births; in 1105 16,109. If this decrease in birth-rate were in England or France much agitation woudl be made over it. Is Medical relief improved? Is sanitation improved? Are the surroundings amidst which our citizens are living improved from the standpoint of sanitation? I say, no.

With regard to Village communications and highways, Government have spent some money over those but we have to spend still more. In the constituency which I have the honour to represent—Anthikad—I may tell you, Sir, that there is a pitiful paucity of roads. It is partly sandy and partly marshy. It is a rich area nevertheless and gives lakhs in the way of land tax and other revenue. Unless you spend more money there, the people would not be able to develop the area as it ought to be developed. From my experience I can say that very little attention is given by the Public Works Department to the rich outlying tracts of the State. More have to be done. Speaking of communications, I must say that expansion of water communication is essential in view of the development of the Harbour. There was an old canal by which goods were taken from Cochin to Trichur by boat. It was much cheaper to carry goods by water than by train. When the Railway was laid they constructed the bridge over this canal—near the Trichur Railway Station—so lowthat boats could not be taken to the old landing place. And a few years after a line was laid connecting the Railway Station with the Timber Mills near by. The bridge that was then constructed over the canal was still lower. Sir, if the Government would kindly see that the platforms of these bridges are raised a little, then goods can be taken by boat to the very heart of Trichur. This will save the people a lot of money that they now pay to the Railway. Inland water communication has to be developed along with the development of Railways and Harbours. This is a matter on which the Chambers of Commerce in the big cities have made representations to the Government of India. In Cochin we have ample facilities for inland water communications. The advantages are not utilized. The canal connecting Trichur with Cochin is now silted up.

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I do not find any amount being set apart for improving inland water communications.

In regard to the co-operative movement I have a word to say. The co-operative movement is built upon the principles of democracy. But the rules now obtaining in the Co-operative department are based upon the principles of autocracy. In a department where we ought to find democracy prevailing, we find an autocratic Registrar. From his orders there is no appeal to any body under the heavens. The orders passed in the department may be good, bad or indifferent, legal or illegal. Yet no appeal lies, though the Regulation wisely provided that rules may be framed providing an appeal. The Regulation has been in work for the last 18 years and still no rules have been yet framed providing such an appeal from the orders of the Registrar. The rules framed have been altered many times. Yet this essential provision has not been made. It is high time that the rules that now obtain in the department are changed and proper rules are framed so as to allow the societies to work more in accordance with the principles of popular self-government.

Passing on to trade and commerce, I have always complained in the first council that very little attention was being paid for their proper development. Trade and commerce had represented in that council but that seat was abolished more perhaps on account of the ignorance of your predecessor about the true principles of representation. That seat has not yet been restored. The people are extremely thankful to know that you intend giving back to them what was wrongfully taken away from them. Trade and commerce cannot thrive unless the Government help them. There is intensive competition from outside. Powerful bodies having large capital behind them are working in these areas and I may tell you, Sir, if the merchants in this State are enabled to stand on their own legs when the Harbour comes, the whole trade in Cochin will be captured by outsiders and Cochin will be a promising field for exploitation by people whom now we call foreigners. It is the duty of the State either by subsidising or by rendering such other help to see that trades and industries are properly developed. In view of the development of the Harbour and in view of the development of the Railway it has become absolutely necessary that the Government ought to do something towards this end.

A word more before I close. That has reference to the speech of the Member for Urakam relating to some of the appointments recently made. I was very sorry to hear that question raised by the Member for Urakam. I had

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absolutely no idea of referring to that matter at all. The Member having broken the ice, I feel it my duty to say something in that connection. Sir, you look at the Government block! Cochin has been progressing for a long number of years! The Christians, the Ezhuvas and the Mahomedans have been in it and progressing too for a long number of years. Prior to the coming in of native Diwans about 10 years ago, there were several officers from those communities holding very high and responsible positions in the Cochin State. We had Mahomedan Officers, Ezhuva Officers and Christian Officers. But when you came to constitute the official bloc[illegible] time, you found that there were no Christians, no Ezhuvas and no Mahomedans in service to whom you could put in. Sir, how did it happen? I say it was a deliberate exclusion of these classes from the service that has worked this end. And any one who has any sense of fairplay ought to see that justice is done to the classes who have been unjustly kept out by the two Diwans who preceded you.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—സർ, ഈ ക്ഷാമകാലത്തു് ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഹാജരാക്കിയതിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ കുറ്റം പറയാനല്ല ഞാൻ ഒരുങ്ങുന്നതു്. ഇവിടെ ഞാൻ ഈ വഷ്ത്തെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഒരുനല്ല ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്നു അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നു. ക്ഷാമം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നിട്ടും അത്യാവശ്യമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു് ചിലവു കുറയ്ക്കാതെയൊ വലിയ ഡഫിസിറ്റ് (Deficit) വരുത്താതെയൊ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഹാജരാക്കിയതിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ അനുമോദിക്കണം. ഡഫിസിറ്റ് (Deficit) വരുത്താത്ത ബഡ്ജറ്റ് എന്നു പറയുന്നതു് ഫല മാസക്കാലം കഴിഞ്ഞതിനുശേഷം മാത്രമെ നിശ്ചയിക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളൂ. അഥവാ ഒന്നൊ, രണ്ടൊ ലക്ഷം അവസാനം അധികം ചിലവു വന്നാലും ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചിലവുകളെല്ലാം ചെയ്യുന്ന പക്ഷം, അതുകൊണ്ടു് വലിയ ദോഷമുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു് അവർകൾ ആദ്യമെതന്നെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ക്ഷാമത്തെപ്പറ്റി പ്രസ്താവിക്കയുണ്ടായല്ലൊ. ക്ഷാമത്തെപ്പറ്റി എല്ലാവരും വിലപിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടു് ക്ഷാമത്താൽ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുന്ന സാധുജനങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒരു പരിഹാരം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. ക്ഷാമംകൊണ്ടു് ജനങ്ങൾ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നുവെന്നു് എല്ലാവരും പറഞ്ഞു. ക്ഷാമത്തിനുള്ള പരിഹാരം കാര്യമായി ആരും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുമില്ല. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളം കുറയ്ക്കണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു വലിയ ഒരു കാര്യമാണെന്നു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ നിസ്സാരമായ ഒരു സംഖ്യ വല്ലതും കിട്ടുമായിരിക്കാം. അവരുടെ ശമ്പളം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതിനു പകരം അവരെക്കൊണ്ടു് നല്ല വേല ചെയ്യിച്ചാൽ മതി. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു് ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടല്ല ഉപദ്രവം. അവർ ശരിക്കു വേല ചെയ്യാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണു്. അവരുടെ കീഴ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ജനങ്ങളെ തോന്ന്യാസമായി ഉപദ്രവിക്കുന്നു. ശരിക്കു ജോലി നോക്കുന്നവർക്കു് ശമ്പളം കുറെക്കുട്ടി കൊടുത്താലും തരക്കേടില്ല. ഉദാഹരണമായി ഒരു നല്ല ദിവാൻജിക്കു് വളരെ ശമ്പളം കൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് രാജ്യത്തിനു് ഗുണമൊ ദോഷമൊ എന്നു നോക്കുക! ൪൦൦ രൂപക്കും ഒരു ദിവാൻജിയെ കിട്ടും. അതുകൊണ്ടു കാര്യമെന്തു? ഈ വക കാര്യങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷാമത്തിനു് നിവാരണം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. അന്തിക്കാട്ടു മെംബർ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഇതിലേക്കുള്ള ഒരു പ്രധാന സംഗതി വ്യവസായങ്ങളേയും കുടിയാന്മാരേയും ശരിക്കു് അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തു

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കയാണ്. പക്ഷെ, നമുക്ക് അറിയാൻ പാടില്ലെങ്കിൽ നല്ല രമ്പുളം കൊടുത്തു പുറത്തുനിന്നും ആളെ വരുത്തണം. അവയെ അങ്ങിനെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്താം. അതിന് നാട്ടുകാരായ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ പോകട്ടെ. ഇപ്പോൾ വിദഗ്ദ്ധജ്ഞാനം കൂടുതലുള്ള രാജ്യങ്ങൾ—ചൈനാ മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങൾ—വിദഗ്ദ്ധജ്ഞാനം ഇംപോർട്ട് (Import) ചെയ്യുന്നു. നമുക്കും വിദഗ്ദ്ധജ്ഞാനം ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ നാടുമുഴുവൻ വിദഗ്ദ്ധജ്ഞാനം ഇംപോർട്ട് ചെയ്യാൻ എന്തിനു് മടിക്കുന്നു! നമ്മുടെ കച്ചവടത്തേയും വ്യവസായത്തേയും അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്താൻ ഇപ്പോൾ കുവിടയുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു്—നാട്ടുകാർക്കു—സാധിക്കുകയില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതിനു് പരിഹാരം എന്താണെന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടും ഈ സഭയും കായ്യമായി ആലോചിക്കണം. നമ്മുടെ കയറ്റുവ്യവസായം അധോഗതിയെ പ്രാപിച്ചു. കൊപ്രാ വ്യവസായം അധോഗതിയെ പ്രാപിച്ചു. നമ്മുടെ എറ്റവും വലിയ ഉല്പന്നങ്ങളായ കയറിന്റെയും കൊപ്രായുടേയും കഥ ഇങ്ങിനെയായി. ഈ കച്ചവടത്തിലും വ്യവസായത്തിലും നമുക്കു് വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഇടിവു് പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ രമ്പുളം കൂടുതുകൊണ്ടോ, റോഡുകൾക്കു് അധികം പണം അനുവദിച്ചു് സാധുക്കളെക്കൊണ്ടു് ജോലി ചെയ്യിച്ചു് കൂലികൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ടോ സാധ്യമാവുകയില്ല. ഇതിനൊരു പരിഹാരം നിർദ്ദേശിക്കാൻ ഒരു പൊതു ലേയ"മാൻ ആയ എനിക്കു് അറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. വിദഗ്ദ്ധജ്ഞാനം അന്യരാജ്യത്തുനിന്നും ഇംപോർട്ടുചെയ്യാണെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെയെങ്കിലും ഇതിനൊരു പരിഹാരം ഉണ്ടാക്കണമെന്നു മാത്രമേ എനിക്കു് പറയാനുള്ളൂ.

എന്റെ അനുഭവത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതികൂടെ എനിക്കു പറയാനുണ്ടു്, ഞാറക്കൽ മെംബർ ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ച കുറിയുടെ കായ്യമാണ്ടു്. ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടും ഈ കൌണ്സിലും കാണിക്കുന്ന ശ്രദ്ധ വളരെ നിർദ്ദേയമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. കേവലം കൂലിവേലക്കാർ മാത്രമല്ല ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുന്നതു്. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും വലിയ പണക്കാരുമല്ല ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുന്നതു്. ഇടത്തരക്കാരായ സാമാന്യജനങ്ങളാണു് ഇതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള വിഷമം അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതു. മുമ്പുണ്ടായിരുന്ന വരവുകൊണ്ടു വലിയ വലിയ കുറികളിൽചേർന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ ആകപ്പാടെ അവർ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിലായി. ഇപ്രകാരം കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നവരിൽ ഭൂരിപക്ഷവും ഇടത്തരക്കാരാണു്. ഇവരെ സഹായിക്കാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ചെയ്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ സ്വല്പകാലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ—ഒരു കൊല്ലംകൂടെ ഇതുപോലെനിന്നുകയാണെങ്കിൽ—ഈ ഇടത്തരക്കാർ തീരെ നിർദ്ധനന്മാരായിപ്പോകും. കടത്തിൽ ആണ്ടുപോകും. അതിനാൽഈ കുറിയുടെ കായ്യത്തിൽ എന്തെങ്കിലും പരിഹാരം ഉണ്ടാക്കണം. ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടുമുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെ കുറിശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ വായിച്ചു പ്രസംഗിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടുഫലമില്ല. ചുരുക്കം നടക്കുന്നതു" അന്വേഷിച്ചറിയണം. ഈ കായ്യത്തിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയെ ഞാൻ ആകർഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. കുറി നിർത്തിവയ്ക്കാം. കുറിയിൽ ചേർന്നവർക്കും കുറിക്കാർക്കും ഭൂരിപക്ഷം മനസ്സുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ നിർത്തിവെയ്ക്കാൻ അനുവാദം കൊടുത്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ വളരെ സങ്കടകരമാണ്.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെപ്പറ്റി എല്ലാവരും പഴിക്കുന്നു ഇതുയെല്ലാം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇല്ലാതെ നിവർത്തിയില്ല. ഇതുഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം, ഇതു സയൻസ്, ഇതു ഹിസ്റ്ററി ഇതെല്ലാം പഠിക്കണം. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ വിഷയങ്ങൾ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതുകൂടികളുടെ സംസ്കാരാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കു ആവശ്യമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവിഷയങ്ങളെല്ലാം അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നാണു പറയുന്നതു്. ബി. എ. ക്കാർ ഉണ്ടാകണം. എം. എ. ക്കാർ ഉണ്ടാകണം. ഉദ്യോഗം ഇല്ലെന്നുവന്നാൽ ബി. എ. ക്കാർ കച്ചവടത്തിനുപോകും. കഴിവുള്ളവർ എം. എ.യ്ക്കും ബി. എ. യ്ക്കും പഠിക്കട്ടെ. അതുകൊണ്ടുകോളേജ് എഡ്യൂക്കേഷനും

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വേണം. പ്രൈമറി വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും വേണം. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു തല്ക്കാലം ചെയ്യേണ്ട ഒരു സംഗതി വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളുടെ ചിലവു ചുരുക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതാണ്. അതിനു ഒന്നരണ്ടു സംഗതി ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായുണ്ടു്. ഒന്നാമതായി കച്ചവടക്കാർക്കു വേണ്ടി ടെക്സ്റ്റുബുക്കുകമ്മിറ്റി പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്ന രീതിയെ മാറണം. കൂടക്കൂടെ പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ എന്തിനുമാറുന്നു? ജ്യേഷ്ഠന്റെ പുസ്തകം അനുജനു വായിക്കാൻസൗകര്യമുണ്ടായിരിക്കട്ടെ. വലിയ ധനികരല്ലാത്തവരുടെകുട്ടികൾപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ സൂക്ഷിച്ചുവെന്നുവരാം. അതിനാൽപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ കൂടക്കൂടെ മാറരുതു്. ഇപ്പോൾ ഓരോ വർഷവും കച്ചവടക്കാർ വല്ലതുംഎഴുതിക്കൂട്ടി പുസ്തകമാക്കികൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതു സ്വീകരിക്കയാണ പതിവു്. ഇപ്പോൾ ടെക്സ്റ്റുബുക്കുകമ്മിറ്റി അംഗീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ബുക്കുകൾ പലതും കാശിനും കൊള്ളാത്തതാണു് (*Hear, hear*). ഭോഷാഭോഷം, ആശയഭോഷം, സർവ്വത്ര ഭോഷ്മയമാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അലങ്കോലപ്പെടുന്നു. കുട്ടികളുടെസംസ്കാരം അലങ്കോലപ്പെടുന്നു. ഇക്കാലത്തു സാധുക്കൾക്കു പഠിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം വേഗത്തിൽ മാറ്റംവരുത്തണം. വേറെ തൊഴിലിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചുംകൊണ്ടു പഠിക്കാൻ കുട്ടികൾക്കു സൗകര്യം കൊടുക്കണം. അവർ വെയിസ്റ്റു ചെയ്യുന്ന സമയം വല്ലതും ജോലിനോക്കി പഠിപ്പിനു വേണ്ട പണമുണ്ടാക്കാൻ അവക്കു ഇടകൊടുക്കണം. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മാതിരി പഠിപ്പിനുവേണ്ടി കുട്ടികൾ അനാവശ്യമായി വളരെ സമയം വെറുതെ കളയാൻ ഇടവരുത്തരുതു. ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു ദിവസം പഠിക്കുന്നതു ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ മണിക്കൂർ മാത്രമേ പഠിക്കാനുള്ളു. ബുദ്ധിമാന്മാരായ കുട്ടികൾക്കു് അത്രയും സമയം തന്നെ വേണ്ടിവരികയില്ല. അതിനാൽ തൊഴിൽ ചെയ്യാൻ സൗകര്യമുണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലെ അനാവശ്യമായ നിർബന്ധങ്ങൾ എടുത്തുകളയുകയാണ് വേണ്ടതു്. എന്നാൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം വളരെ എളുപ്പമുള്ളതും ചിലവു ചുരുങ്ങിയതുമാക്കാം.

ഒരു മെംബർ, ഉപ്പുനികുതി എടുത്തുകളയുന്നതിനെപ്പറ്റി പറഞ്ഞു. അതു എടുത്തുകളയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അത്രയും അബദ്ധമായ ഒരു സംഗതി വേറെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കയില്ല. ഇത്രയും ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഭാരം കുറഞ്ഞതും എന്നാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു വരവേറിയതുമായ ഒരു നികുതി വേറെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കയില്ല. മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധി ഉപ്പുനികുതിയൊട്ടു എതിർക്കുന്നതിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം വേറെ. ലംഘിക്കാൻ ഏറ്റവും എളുപ്പമുള്ള നിയമം ഏതെന്നു മഹാബുദ്ധിമാനായ മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധി, സെയിൻറിലും അധികം പൊളിറ്റീഷ്യനായ അദ്ദേഹം, നോക്കിയപ്പോൾ ഉപ്പുനിയമം കണ്ടു. ജനങ്ങളെ പറഞ്ഞു ഇളക്കാൻ എളുപ്പമുള്ള വിഷയം നോക്കിയപ്പോഴും ഉപ്പുകരം തന്നെ കണ്ടു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം മനസ്സിലാക്കാതെ നമ്മുടെ ഏറ്റവും വരവുള്ള ഉപ്പുനികുതി എടുത്തുകളയുന്നതു കഷ്ടമായിരിക്കും.

അധാർമ്മികമായികച്ചവടം നടത്തുന്ന കള്ളഷാപ്പുകാരുടെ കിസ്തു കുറച്ചുകൊടുത്തുവെന്നു ഒരു മെംബർ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ആ മെംബർ മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധിയുടെ ഉപദേശം കേട്ടു വക്കീൽപ്പണി നിർത്തിയൊ? 'സേറാനിക്കു' ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ സേവിക്കുന്ന പണി ധാർമ്മികമാണൊ? പാവപ്പെട്ട ഷാപ്പുകാരെ പിന്നെ എന്തിനു ഉപദ്രവിക്കുന്നു? മദ്യവില്പന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് വലിയ വരവുള്ള ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടാക്കി വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു അങ്ങിനെ വച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തോളം സ്ഥിതിഗതിവശാൽ ആ വ്യാപാരത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഷാപ്പുകാരെ മനഃപൂർവ്വം നഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു നിർദ്ദയത്വവും മനുഷ്യസ്നേഹമില്ലായ്മയുമെന്നെ പറയാവു. ഇത്രയും പറയുന്നതു കൊണ്ടു മദ്യവർജ്ജനത്തിനു ഞാൻ വിരോധിയാണെന്നു ആരും തെറ്റിദ്ധരിക്കരുതു്. അതു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് നിറുത്തട്ടെ.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

വേറൊരു സംഗതി പറയാനുള്ളതു സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യമാണ്. ഇതി നെപ്പറ്റി ഇവിടെ മിണ്ടരുതെന്നായിരുന്ന ഞാൻ വിചാരിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. നി ങ്ങളെല്ലാവരും രസമായി കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരുന്ന നെല്ലായി മെംബരുടെ പ്രസംഗ ത്തിൽ സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യ വാദം വേഷം മാറി സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യമ ല്ലെന്നുള്ള ഭാവത്തിൽ നൃത്തംചെയ്യുതായി കണ്ടു. ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെല്ലാം കരസ്ഥമാ ക്കി വച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ചില സമുദായക്കാർ സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണ്ടാ, എ ന്നു വാദിക്കുന്നു. അവക്കു അങ്ങിനെ വാദിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. അങ്ങിനെ വാദിക്കുന്നതാണ അവക്കു നല്ലതു. സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണമെന്നു പറ യുന്നവർ യോഗ്യതയില്ലാത്തവക്കു ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നല്ല പറയുന്നതു. ഇക്കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി പ്രസംഗിക്കുമ്പോൾ എല്ലാ മെംബർമാരും എഫിഷ്യൻസി ക്കാര്യം പറയുന്നുണ്ടു്. എഫിഷ്യൻസി വേണ്ടെന്നു ഇവിടെ ആരും പറയുന്നി ല്ല. ഭിന്ന സമുദായങ്ങൾ ജീവിക്കുന്ന ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ഭിന്നസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ സമ്മതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കാത്ത പക്ഷം ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടോ യാലും ശരി, വരാൻ പോകുന്ന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടായാലും ശരി, ഏതു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടി നും സുഖമായി രാജ്യഭാരം ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. അനാവശ്യമായി സ മുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദികൾ വാദിക്കുന്നില്ല. യോഗ്യതയില്ലെങ്കിലും ഇന്ന സമുദായത്തിൽ പെട്ടവനായതു കൊണ്ടു ഉദ്യോഗം തരണമെന്നു ആരും അപേ ക്ഷിക്കുന്നില്ല. യോഗ്യതയുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ തരാതിരിക്കരുതെന്നെ പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദത്തിനു ആവശ്യമില്ലാത്ത മാതിരി ഒരു സ്ഥിതിഗ തി ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർക്കുന്നതിനു" ഇപ്പോൾ അധികാരം കയ്യിൽ കിട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ വിചാരിച്ചാൽ സാധിക്കും. അവർ എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങ ളോടും നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി പെരുമാറണം. അവരവരുടെ സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ ഗുണം മാത്രം നോക്കി പ്രവർത്തിക്കരുതു. സമുദായങ്ങളെ ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ കുറ്റം പറ യേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. നായർ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരൊ ബ്രാഹ്മണ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാ രൊ ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരൊ പക്ഷപാതികളാകുന്നതിനു ബ്രാഹ്മണരെ യൊനായന്മാരെയൊ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളെയൊ മുഴുവനായി പഴിക്കുന്നതു" എ ന്തിനു? ഉദ്യോഗം കയ്യിൽകിട്ടിയവർ അവരുടെ സ്വന്തം ആളുകളെ വയ്ക്കുക, സ്വജാതിക്കാരെ വയ്ക്കുക എന്നു തുടങ്ങിയാൽ എങ്ങിനെയാണു് മറ്റുള്ളവർ സഹിക്കുന്നതു? എങ്ങിനെ സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യത്തിനു വാദിക്കാതിരിക്കും? ഒരു നല്ല ദിവാൻജി ഏതു ജാതിയിൽപെട്ട ആളായാലും അദ്ദേഹത്തെ എല്ലാ ജാതിക്കാരും സ്നേഹിക്കയും ആദരിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്നതു നമുക്കു ഇപ്പോൾ അനു ഭവപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. സർ. പി. രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയേയും സർ ടി.വിജയരാ ഘവാചാരിയേയും ഈഴവരും മറ്റും സ്നേഹിച്ചതും നമുക്കു അനുഭവമാണല്ലൊ. ഉദ്യോഗത്തിലിരുന്നുകൊണ്ടു മറ്റുജാതിക്കാരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ അവഗണി ച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ആളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ആ ആളുടെ സമുദായ ത്തെ ഓർക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ എങ്ങിനെ സാധിക്കും? അതുകൊണ്ടു എനിക്കു പ്രധാ നമായി പറയാനുള്ളതു" ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു മേധാവികളോടാണു്. അവർ അവ രുടെ സ്വന്തം ആളുകളെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽവെക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കരുതു. അവർ എ ല്ലാവരുടേയും അവകാശങ്ങളെ ശരിക്കു നോക്കിയാൽ ജനങ്ങൾ അവരെ വി ശ്വസിക്കാതിരിക്കയില്ല. സമുദായവാദമില്ലാതാക്കണമെങ്കിൽ അധികാരം കൈയിൽ കിട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നവർ എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങളോടും നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി പെരുമാറുകതന്നെവേണം. അവർ അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഓരൊസമു ദായക്കാരും അവരുടെ അവകാശത്തിനു വാദിക്കാതെ തരമില്ല. അധികാരം കരസ്ഥമായ സമുദായങ്ങൾ സമുദായവാദം പാടില്ലെന്നു പറയാൻ എളുപ്പ മാണു്. അങ്ങിനെ പറയുന്നതാണു് അവക്കു ആവശ്യം. അതുമറ്റുള്ളവക്കു പാടുകയില്ല.

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പഞ്ചായത്തു പരിഷ്കാരത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞു. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ പഞ്ചായത്തു രജിസ്റ്റാർ വളരെ ശ്രേഷ്ഠിയോടുകൂടി ജോലി ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെന്നാണു" ഇതെവരെ അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു". സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദം പാടില്ലെന്നു പറയുന്ന ആൾക്കാണു് പഞ്ചായത്തു രജിസ്റ്റാരെപ്പറ്റി ആക്ഷേപം. രജിസ്റ്റാർ സ്വന്തം ജാതിക്കാരനല്ല എന്നുള്ളതുതന്നെ ഇതിനു കാരണം. ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം മാറണം. പുതിയ പുതിയ പദങ്ങൾ പ്രയോഗിച്ചു് പഴയ പഴയ അനീതികളെ മനോഹരമാക്കിപറഞ്ഞാൽ അതു മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ വേണ്ടബുദ്ധി മറവുള്ളവക്കു ഇല്ലെന്നു ആരും വിചാരിക്കണ്ട. സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം എത്ര മനോഹരമായപദംകൊണ്ടു മറയ്ക്കാൻ ശ്രമിച്ചാലും അതു മറയുകയില്ല. ഈ സമ്പ്രദായ പ്രാധാന്യങ്ങളെല്ലാം കേട്ടു" ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നല്ലനയം മാറരുതെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയാനുള്ളതു്. യോഗ്യതയുള്ളവരെ എടുക്കണമെന്നു സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദികൾ വാദിക്കുന്നുള്ളു. സർവ്വീസിന്റെ എഫിഷ്യൻസിയെക്കുറിച്ചു" മന്ത്രം ചെയ്യാൻ അവർ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദികൾ യോഗ്യതയില്ലാത്തവരെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നു വാദിക്കുന്നതുപോലെയാണു" ചിലർ പറയുന്നതു". ആ എഴുതാത്തപുറം വായിക്കുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യ വിരോധികൾ കളഞ്ഞാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യംകൊണ്ടു എഫിഷ്യൻസി പോകുമെന്നു വാദിക്കുന്നവരോടു ഈ കഴിഞ്ഞ രണ്ടു ഭരണങ്ങളുടെ അനുഭവങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി ചോദിക്കാൻ തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. ആ ഭരണങ്ങളെ ഈ കൌൺസ്സിൽ ആകെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കയുണ്ടായി. മുമ്പിരുന്ന രണ്ടു ദിവാൻജിമാരും സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യപ്രകാരം ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടിയ ഈഴവരൊ മറ്റൊ അല്ലായിരുന്നുവല്ലൊ. സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദപ്രകാരം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവർ എഫിഷ്യൻസി ഇല്ലാത്തവരായും അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ചു അവരിൽ അധികംപേരും വളരെ നീതിമാന്മാരും ശ്രേഷ്ഠിമാന്മാരുമായിട്ടാണു" നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തെസംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം കണ്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്.

ഇവിടെ ഉദ്യോഗ നിയമനത്തെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്ന പാളിറിക്കുസെയുള്ളൊന്നു ചിലർ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ അതിനെ ഖണ്ഡിക്കുന്നില്ല. അതുശരിയാണു". നമ്മുടെ പാളിറിക്കുസു് ഉദ്യോഗപോളിറിക്കായി ഇരിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളംകാലം ആ പാളിറിക്കുസിലെ പങ്കു എല്ലാ സമുദായക്കാർക്കും വേണമല്ലൊ: അതുകൊണ്ടാണു് ഇപ്പോൾ ഓരൊ സമുദായക്കാരും ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു വാദിക്കുന്നതു.

നിയമസഭയിൽ വരുത്തിയ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങൾക്കു് പ്രധാന ഉത്തരവാദിയായ ദിവാൻജി അവർകളെഞാനും അനുമോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇതു ഏറ്റവും തുച്ഛമായ ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരംമാത്രമെ ആകുന്നുള്ളു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലൊരുനേറ്റിവു് സ്റ്റേറ്റുകളിലൊ ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരം വന്നിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു അതു വലിയ പരിഷ്കാരമാകയില്ല. കുറച്ചു ഇമ്മാജിനേഷൻ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ പഴയ ദിവാൻജിമാരും ചെയ്യുമായിരുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ തുഛമായ ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരം വരുത്തിയതിനു" ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു് എത്രപ്രശംസയാണു" ഇന്നു കിട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നതു". ഇങ്ങിനെ നിസ്സാരമായ അധികാരങ്ങൾ കൂടി നിയമസഭക്കുകൊടുത്തു ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രശംസ സമ്പാദിക്കാൻ ചിലരുടെ ലുബ്ധം അവരെഅനുവദിച്ചില്ല. ആമാതിരി ലുബ്ധു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജിക്കില്ലാത്തതുനമ്മുടെ ഭാഗ്യമാണു". ചെപ്പൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡെണ്ടിനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കാനുള്ള അധികാരം മാത്രം കിട്ടിയാൽപോരാ. പ്രസിഡെണ്ടിനെ എലക്ടു് ചെയ്യാനുള്ള അധികാരം കിട്ടണം. ഈവക പലപരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും വരുത്താനുണ്ടു". ഉത്ത

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രവാടരേണം പൂർണ്ണമായി വരണം. ഇതെല്ലാം വിജ്ഞാതോട് കൂടി ആഗ്രഹ സമായങ്ങൾക്ക് സേഫ്ഗാർഡ്സും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. വള്ളോൻ.—സർ, ഈ നിയമസഭയിൻ ഒരു സമാജികനായി എന്നെ നാമകരണം ചെയ്ത മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലോടും അതിൽ സഹകരിച്ച ഈ സഭാപ്രസിഡെണ്ടായ ദിവാൻജി അവർകളോടും എന്റെ ഹാർദ്ദവമായ നന്ദിയെ ഞാൻ സാദരം പ്രകാശിപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു.

വരവു അധികവും ചിലവു ചുരുക്കവുമായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ് തയാറാക്കി നിയമസഭയിൽ സമർപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതു ഗവൺമെണ്ടു സാമ്പത്തികമായ വീക്ഷണകോണത്തിൽനിന്നു നോക്കുമ്പോൾ പ്രശംസനീയമാണെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കാം. എന്നാൽ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ താല്ക്കാലിക സ്ഥിതി നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇതുപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ് അതുവഴുതെ ആഗിരണീയമായി തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ജനഹിതത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽ നിന്നും നടപ്പുവാനാഗ്രഹങ്ങളാകുന്ന പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെ ഞാൻ ഇവിടെപ്രത്യേകം പ്രകാശിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ പല വിഷയങ്ങളിലും പല പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തു വരേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു കാണുന്നു". ഇവിടെ ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽ സഞ്ചാരത്തിനായി സൌകര്യങ്ങളായ പാതകളും സഞ്ചാരസാധനങ്ങളും ഇനിയും ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ട്". അധ്യാപകർക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വിഷയങ്ങളിലും മറ്റും കൊടുക്കുന്ന സഹായങ്ങളിൽ ഞാൻ നന്ദിപൂർവ്വം സ്മരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ വെക്കണ്ടറി വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കും മറ്റും ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുന്ന സഹായങ്ങളും അവരുടെ തല്ക്കാല സ്ഥിതി വിചാരിക്കുമ്പോൾ പര്യാപ്തങ്ങളാണെന്നു പറയുവാൻ വിരോധമില്ല. കിടക്കുവാൻ കിടപ്പിടവും ഉണ്ണുവാൻ വകയുമില്ലാത്ത കുട്ടികൾക്കു രണ്ടും മൂന്നും ഉറുപ്പിക സഹായധനം കൊടുക്കുന്നതു അവരെ കഷ്ടം കൊടുക്കുന്നതുപോലെയാണ്". അധ്യാപകരുടെ സംഖ്യ വിർദ്ധിക്കി കാണിക്കുവാൻ മാത്രമേയുള്ളു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്കു ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ അവർക്കു ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുന്ന സഹായം കുറെക്കൂടി ഉദാരമായ വിധത്തിലും ഫലപ്രദമായ വിധത്തിലും തുക്കിത്തിക്കുവാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു സാധിക്കുന്നതാണ്.

ഗവൺമെണ്ടു സർവ്വീസിനു കൊതി കിട്ടാതിരിപ്പാൻ വയലുകളിൽ വെള്ളരിക്കാപ്പാട്ടനെ വെക്കുന്നതുപോലെ വന്നിട്ടു ചില ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളിൽ പലയനേയോ കണക്കനേയോ നിയമിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു അധ്യാപകർക്ക് ഗവൺമെണ്ടു സർവ്വീസിൽ ധാരാളം പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടികഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇന്നും മാസപ്പടി, രിപായി മുതലായ താഴ്ന്ന സ്ഥിതികളിൽ ഉയർന്നവകുപ്പുകളിൽ നിന്നതിനെയാണു സേവക്കാരെ വയ്ക്കുന്നതു. അനവധി മറവിളികളുടെ ഫലമായിട്ടു നാളു മറക്കാതെ ഓരോ അധ്യാപക നിയമനം നടക്കുന്നതിനു ഉദാഹരണങ്ങൾ പറയുവാൻ ഉണ്ടാകുമെങ്കിലും അതുകൊണ്ടു അധ്യാപകർക്കു കാര്യമായ ഗുണമൊന്നും ഉണ്ടാകുവാനില്ല. പകരക്കാരുടേയും മരിച്ച സേവക്കാരുടേയും താവഴിക്കാർക്കു കൊടുക്കേണമെന്ന ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു നിയമവും ഉണ്ടല്ലോ. ഈ നിയമം മാറണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ എളുപ്പത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ കുട്ടികൾ സർക്കാർ സർവ്വീസിൽ കടക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല.

ഫ്രാൻസിലൊക്കെ പട്ടാണി ശിപായിയും ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാരാപ്പീസിലെ പണിക്കർ ശിപായിയും ഒരുപോലെ കാലുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതിന്റെ ഗുണം താഴിനിയമമാണെന്ന ഒടുവിലാണു എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലായതു. അതുകൊണ്ടു സാമാന്യമായ രാജപാരിഷ്കാരത്തിലും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയെ സാദരം കാണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു എന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തെ അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

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Mr. M. A. Chakko.—Sir, The budget before us has not pretension of being a prosperity budget. It is the forecast of a lean year. Of the three years 1105, 1106 and 1107 that are held out to view, the figures for the last mentioned, viz., 1107 are the lowest. So I say the forecast is that of a lean year.

There is fall of 7 lakhs. It is of course due to the prevailing trade and economic depression. It is also an indication of the extent to which our State is affected by the calamity. It works out a percentage of 7·7 of the total revenue of 1105, the fat year. But if we propose to draw a further inference from the figures to the effect that because the State, the Body Politic has not suffered much, that it has withstood the impact famously (therefore) the subjects of the State had also that rare good fortune and that their incomes were reduced only by about 7 or 8 per cent, it will be very wide of the mark.

Price of the staple produce of the country cocoanut and paddy has gone down by more than 50 per cent, while the act of procuring the necessaries of life and meeting other needs like children's education, conveyancing of land, recovery of debt etc., has not gone down to any appreciable degree. Thus if the budget of the State be lean by 7·7 per cent, the budget of the average citizen is leaner by far, more than 60 per cent. It is a matter that should arrest the attention of the Government as well as of this House.

The last Council bade good-bye to the late Administration. The parting words of most of the members were not at all complimentary to the departing head. In the maseva each of them felt about the situation, they have given utterence to their thoughts at the last budget discussion. Since I am one who was present as a member of the House then I do not ignore the fact that several of the Hon'ble Members of that Council are also members of this Council and some of the members were members of the first Council also—I may be permitted to make some reference to it. I know that comparisons are odious, not always happy. But what is the budget before us if it is not a comparison? Is it not a row of figures, comparing one year's figures with the figures of its predecessor? Reference to previous failures and success is at times necessary in order to fix our programme to feel our way forward. It is important to see how the failure becomes inevitable in one ease while success and satisfaction followed another. I shall therefore refer to one passage in the memorable speech of the late Hon'ble Member for Jenmies, M. R. Ry. Kunjunni Raja Avergal, which was the first budget speech of the last year. The passage, it may be stated, had the full and unstinted approbation of the House as was seen from the applause it evoked from the floor of the

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House. This is the passage. I refer to page 1188 of the printed report. "The Public Service of the State which for long enjoyed an enviable reputation for efficiency and integrity presents to-day the saddest spectacle of laxity and demoralization as the inevitable concomitant of nepotism, favouritism and communalism pursued with undisguished and unblushing downrightness."

The subjects of the State were groaning under this and the condition became almost unbearable before the Swaraj minded Indians thought of a European, a Britisher, to administrate the State in order that Justice and fairplay that left the land might return and reign over them. The new Council welcomes you, Sir, as the exponent of justice and fairplay.

With your advent nepotism has taken wings and fled. In the short time that you held the reins of Government you have set right wrongs, made reparation where you could and healed up unkindest cuts. That you have made a good beginning is the feeling abroad. The people are aware that yours is no bed of roses. Your task is arduous in the face of obstacles seen and unseen. You lend a ready ear to the humblest of the State to hear his grievance. It is the rarest privilege the people have enjoyed for a long time.

In the field of appointment to public service the conviction has gained ground that you have always kept in view fitness and efficiency though communalism was shouting the loudest. Now it behoves this House to lay stress on one truth. The most important of all boons to the citizen, and what he values most is the correct, speedy and impartial dispensing of Justice. It is the birthright of every citizen which cannot be interfered with on any ground. The importance of an efficient upright and independent judiciary cannot be exaggerated. It has to be secured and maintained at all cost. Therefore the Chief Judge of the State is the chiefest and most highly paid officer of the State, next only to the Diwan. Best men of high character, wide culture and legal erudition should be appointed as Judges. Such a one for judgeship is a pearl of surpassing value which has to be sought for from far and near. When such a one is found, it must be procured, the right man for the right place. Everything that militates against this supreme necessity for the happiness of the people should be brushed aside. Seniority in service and at the Bar has to be respected. But it shall not prevail against the first and most important factor, viz., the dispensing correct, speedy and even-handed justice.

It has been the tradition of this State whose Chief Court is of even higher potence than the High Courts of British India

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being the final court of appeal. From British Indian High Courts appeals lie to the Privy Council in England. To the citizen of Cochin State the Chief Court is the final dispenser of justice. Life and liberty and property are as much valuable to the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja as they are to the subjects of His Majesty, the King Emperor. It is indeed therefore that a precious pearl of surpassing value—one with the lustre of wide culture, independence, integrity, impartiality and uprightness—is wanted to adorn the Chief Court. This truth was borne in mind in the past and it was this fact that brought the "enviable reputation of efficiency and integrity" to the Judiciary of the State. Judges have to decide the cases that come before them without fear or favour. The same sacred duty devolves upon the Government in their selection of Judges. Judgeship shall be no sop to appease any community or interest.

If I have dwelt on the subject which is an accepted truth throughout the civilised world, my only excuse is that the truth is worth repetition at this juncture. I shall not linger on it further. Next only to Law and Justice in importance is Education. We in Cochin State have reason to be justly proud that we are ahead of other parts of India including Native States in point of literacy. The Government are maintaining a First Grade College and aiding two others, one for boys and the other for girls. High Schools and Lower Secondary Schools we have by scores. A good percentage of public fund is spent on education. There is still insistant demand for more schools and the Director of Education has very often to refuse the demand for want of funds. The question then arises if the late comers are to be left to shift for themselves while those who have come first are served. Is it in keeping with the policy of the Government who stimulate the so-called depressed classes and backward classes to come forward and participate the benefits of education, to deny the legitimate needs of those who do not require such a stimulus? Primary education is the birth right of all citizens and the Government cannot deny proper and sufficient grant-in-aid. The College serves the few at a high cost while the village school serves the many at comparatively small outlay. They do not stand in need of up-to-date hostels with lavatories having flushing arrangements in the second and third floors. They can have their swimming baths in the river or the adjoining pool. Education of the many should be the concern of the Government. The College should not kill the schools.

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The Council is now 6 years old. It has entered in its 7th year. The Government that was not paying much heed to the cries of the infant Council has now begun to see that its Council deserved greater respect. We are beholden to you, Sir, for this as well as for the privilege granted to us to select our Deputy President. It is a trite saying that trust begets trust. This Council has therefore to set to work with greater responsibility when it grapples with important problems set forth in the programme of works indicated in the Hon'ble Finance Member's speech. The most important concerns that we have to finance immediately are the Harbour, the Railway and the First Grade College. All the three require large outlay. The first two concern the commercial advancement of the State, while the last is intimately connected with Education. It has, however, to be borne in mind that collegiate education is not so much in demand as it was a decade ago. The graduates of the Arts College are as a rule not wealth producers of the country. That is the thought uppermost in peoples' mind at present.

The University demands large outlay on College buildings and as the salaries of Professors and Lecturers. We cannot say that it is unreasonable. They know best. The question then is did the Cochin Durbar bargain for this when they launched the scheme of having a First Grade College in the State and got two more instead of one? Is it not time to pause and consider if the game is worth the candle? One will not be surprised if some of the Colleges in the Madras Presidency be scraped as a result of the retrenchment policy now set on foot. If it comes to applying the axe somewhere the College scheme stands prominent.

Love for the big schemes has to be borrowed, says the Hon'ble Finance Member. To go borrowing is to go sorrowing afterwards, says the old adage. It requires a robust mental constitution to face the situation. Nothing ventured nothing gained, is the true incentive for big efforts. The proposition has been brought forward and discussed in this House that it would be the policy of the Government to finance big reproductive undertakings by loans. It is scant justice to the present generation to be asked to bear the burden and go through the strain and sweating to obtain a loan for the coming generation. It is on the other hand more fair and equitable to require those who reap the benefit to share the burden and toil also. Sound finance of a State or business does not eliminate borrowing when the money is needed for reproductive investment. It is only when the spending of the money borrowed

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produces articles for which there is no particular use or which would overstock the market that a State debt should be conde m-ned.

We have been complaining that more money should be spent for useful Public Works. The retrenchment of two lakhs in the P. W. D. budget this year cannot be commended at all. It has been shown that the well-to-do people have their income affected by about 60 per cent, while the State receipts are short by only 7.7 per cent. The poor day labourer has to get work and earn wages in order to live. In the towns building works are suspended. It has come to a stand still. That means no quarrying, no transport of stones or other building materials, no chiselling or hammering, no masonry nor carpentry. Tile factories are all but closed. In the rural parts ordinary labour in the rise fields employ only a few. Other works of agriculture which require outlay are suspended. The workers on the soil and large number of estate coolies are thrown out of employ-ment. It would have been an act of kindness and considerate regard for the wretched plight of the poor honest folk if the Government had made use of them to get through their public works at this time. Like the quality of mercy it will be twice blessed benefiting him that gives work and those that get work to do ; because the work would be got done most speedily and at much less cost.

The citizens are affected and crippled. They stopped spending money on works that could wait. The Government should not follow that example to put off works of the most crying need. The money locked up in Government coffers must come out to help the poor people. America is helping Germany and Europe. I wish that Cochin State would come forward and do likewise. The Road Committee, the Village Reconstruction Committee, the Panchayat Department and the P. D. W. all these must do brisk work. That will bring relief.

The House rose for the day at 4-15 p. m.

C. J. MATHEW,
Secretary to the Council.

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